

The American Historical Review

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

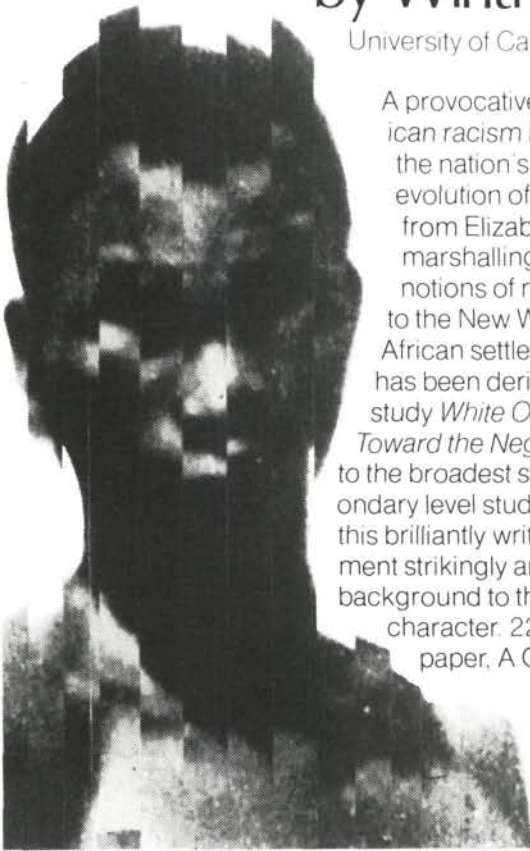


THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

Historical Origins of Racism
in the United States

by Winthrop D. Jordan

University of California, Berkeley



A provocative attempt to demonstrate that American racism has its roots in the earliest period of the nation's history. Professor Jordan traces the evolution of white racial attitudes toward blacks from Elizabethan England to the War of 1812, marshalling a persuasive body of evidence that notions of racial superiority and inferiority came to the New World with its earliest European and African settlers. Much of the material in this book has been derived from Jordan's award-winning study *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812*. Designed to appeal to the broadest spectrum of undergraduate and secondary level students as well as to the general reader, this brilliantly written study states its central argument strikingly and effectively, providing essential background to this crucial aspect of the American character. 224 pages cloth \$8.95
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Technology Assessment from the Stance of a Medieval Historian

LYNN WHITE, JR.

ON OCTOBER 13, 1972, the American federal government established in Washington an Office of Technology Assessment to advise Congress on legislative problems related to new technology and its probable impact. This act reflects an ambivalence toward engineering innovation that has been rare during the last thousand years in the Occidental culture of which we are part. Both pagan and Christian antiquity, of course, had been dubious about technology. St. Augustine, the most penetrating mind of a groping age, expressed amazement at the ingenuity and variety of the arts, yet feared that the good coming from them may be counterbalanced by the evil of "so many poisons, weapons and military machines" in addition to superfluities and vanities.¹ The Latin Middle Ages, by contrast, developed an almost entirely affirmative view of technological improvement. This new attitude is clearly detectable in the early ninth century, and by 1450 engineering advance had become explicitly connected with the virtues: it was integral to the ethos of the West.²

People are organized into cultures by the basic presuppositions—often un verbalized—that they share: their axioms. They put their intelligence, energy, and money into what they corporately consider good. The results are as varied as the majestic pyramids of pharaonic Egypt, the sadistic games of the arenas of the Roman West, and the family-centering, but globally focused, television sets of the contemporary industrialized world. Medieval Europe came to believe that technological progress was part of God's will for man. The result was an increasing thrust of invention that has been extrapolated, without interruption or down-curve, into our present society.

This is a presidential address delivered by Mr. White at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, San Francisco, December 28, 1973.

¹ *De civitate Dei* 22.24, in *Corpus christianorum, series latina*, 48 (Turnholt, 1955): 848-49.

² See Lynn White, jr., "The Iconography of *Temperantia* and the Virtuousness of Technology," in T. K. Rabb and J. E. Seigel, eds., *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison* (Princeton, 1969), 197-219; and White, "Cultural Climates and Technological Advance in the Middle Ages," *Viator*, 2 (1971): 171-201.

Never was the sense of the virtuousness of technology more vivid than in nineteenth-century America. In 1853 an English mission exploring the sources of industrial success on this side of the Atlantic concluded, in awed tones, that "the real secret of American productivity is that American society is imbued through and through with the desirability, the rightness, the morality of production. Men serve God in America, in all seriousness and sincerity, through striving for economic efficiency."³ Clearly this Victorian investigative team did not know that they were observing an attitude that had been held by the common medieval and puritan ancestors both of themselves and of the renegade colonists: in England it was already in decay. In New England, however, it survived until toward the end of the century, when its demise was signaled in Henry Adams's dichotomy of Dynamo and Virgin, a tragic vision of reality most curiously presented against the backdrop of a totally misunderstood Middle Ages.⁴

Today the medieval axiom of the rightness of technological progress has been challenged in the entire Western world, and not merely by mystics and eccentrics of the Blake and Thoreau ilk. To the secular among us it seems quaint; to the religious it is blasphemy. The most extreme repudiation of it is that by Jacques Ellul, a French Calvinist professor at Bordeaux, to whom "Technology" appears to be the new name for Antichrist, a demonic force that is completely out of hand.⁵ Few will go so far; yet among us, few likewise still share the old confidence that all problems produced by changing engineering will be solved automatically by remedial forms of technology, quite without the intrusion of public policy based on ethical and esthetic sensibility. Hence the establishment by Congress of the Office of Technology Assessment.

We must have assessment of technology: our national crises of energy, exhaustion of natural resources, and pollution of air, water, and soil interlock with global crises of armaments, population, and food. The real question is: Do we know how to assess a proposed technological change, whether it be a new invention or a new canal across Central America?

Technology assessment today is a discipline largely concerned with weapons systems, industrial production, power networks, traffic patterns, marketing problems, and large engineering projects. The systems analysis that is its method is based almost entirely on costs-benefits calculations that are narrowly construed because they are designed to answer military and business questions formulated within a rather limited range set by those commissioning the studies. Their failure to ask about wider social and other costs and benefits has led to unfortunate effects that impinge increas-

³ Quoted by Charles L. Sanford, "The Intellectual Origins and New-Worldliness of American Industry," *Journal of Economic History*, 18 (1958): 16; see also page 14 for Patrick Tracy Jackson's dictum that "the village steeple is an unfailing companion of the waterwheel."

⁴ Lynn White, jr., "Dynamo and Virgin Reconsidered," *American Scholar*, 27 (1958): 183-94; reprinted in White, *Machina ex Deo: Essays in the Dynamism of Western Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 57-73.

⁵ Jacques Ellul, *The Technological Society*, tr. J. Wilkinson (New York, 1964).

ingly on the lives of millions, with resulting popular backlash against engineers and scientists, soldiers and business leaders.

Some of the most perceptive systems analysts are pondering today how to incorporate into their procedures for decision the so-called fragile or non-quantifiable values to supplement and rectify their traditional quantifications. Unhappy clashes with aroused groups of ecologists have proved that when a dam is being proposed, kingfishers may have as much political clout as kilowatts. How do you apply cost-benefit analysis to kingfishers? Systems analysts are caught in Descartes's dualism between the measurable *res extensa* and the incommensurable *res cogitans*, but they lack his pineal gland to connect what he thought were two sorts of reality. In the long run the entire Cartesian assumption must be abandoned for recognition that quantity is only one of the qualities and that all decisions, including the quantitative, are inherently qualitative. That such a statement to some ears has an ominously Aristotelian ring does not automatically refute it.

There is a second present defect in the art of technology assessment: the lack of a sense of depth in time; this may be called the Hudson Institute syndrome. It is understandable not only because most systems analysts are trained either in engineering or in the social sciences that normally take a flat contemporary view of phenomena, but also because the concrete problems set before systems analysts for solution look toward future action and discourage probing the genesis of things. Since history deals with nonrepetitive events, historians cannot help in specific ways to answer questions concerning assessment of technology in our time. I believe, however, that contemporary technology assessment will become sophisticated and more successful only if those who practice it are made aware of the complexity and ramifications of the effects of technological changes in the past. History can offer no solutions, but it may help to guide an acute mind toward kinds of questions that in the present state of systems analysis tend to be overlooked. Above all it may illuminate the limitations as well as the possibilities of assessing technology.

To show what I mean, let me present a rapid and necessarily superficial review of a few Western medieval innovations and their impacts. To what extent could a prescient medieval futurologist have foreseen what was going to happen?⁶

SOMETIME BETWEEN 1150 and 1167 alcohol, or, more exactly, brandy, was first distilled from wine as a pharmaceutical at Salerno, the site of Europe's most

⁶ There appears to be no study of the development of the more modern social-psychological kinds of insight, as contrasted with the legal-political Greco-Roman way of analyzing situations and trends. That seeds of the new method were sprouting in the later thirteenth century is shown by Brian Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and Its Application in England* (Berkeley, 1959), 44-67. Canonists at that time began shifting the focus of discussions of charity from its effect upon the spiritual well-being of the donor to its impact upon the recipient.

famous medical school.⁷ Drunkenness, of course, had produced moral and social problems ever since Noah took shore leave (Gen. 9:21–27), and it is not likely that anyone in the later twelfth century could have thought that the new medicine would amplify a traditional vice. The considerable medieval literature on *aqua ardens* or *aqua vitae* stresses the beneficial effect of alcohol for facial tic, chronic headache, stomach trouble, falling or graying hair, worms, epilepsy, cancer, sterility, sciatica, arthritis, and bad breath. In general, it was good for people who, in terms of the humoral physiology of that age, were considered to have a “cold” temperament. Then in the midst of such medical advice, one treatise lets down its guard: “Brandy when drunk makes a man happy and sociable”:⁸ in other words, this is the “fun” medicine.

Especially in Northern Europe the winters were chilly enough to make anyone believe that he was of a “cold” complexion and that such a medicament was essential to his health. Apothecaries were making it in ever more considerable quantities, and during the fifteenth century, when it began to be produced from a beer mash as well as from wine, it became quite cheap. Drunkenness and consequent public disorder increased alarmingly: for example, at Frankfurt am Main decrees trying to cope with the problem—but obviously in vain—were issued in 1361, 1391, 1433, 1456, and 1487.⁹

India and Sunnite (as distinct from parts of Shiite) Islam arrived at a negative assessment of intoxicants long before alcohol was distilled. In 1919 the United States reached the same conclusion, but so many socially evil side effects of that decision emerged that by 1933 the consensus was reversed. Alcohol remains fun for many, and a disaster for many. As the annual meetings of this Association demonstrate, it adds considerably to conviviality and perhaps even to the flow of ideas. Statistics, however, indicating that half the traffic deaths in this country are connected with either drunken drivers or drunken pedestrians make one wonder about the beneficence of the Salernitan gift to mankind. A study group eight centuries ago, equipped with entire foresight, would have failed at an assessment of alcohol as today we fail.

In our own generation some of the most successful technology assessments have dealt with weapons. How would similar efforts have fared in the Middle Ages, or how did they?

In the later eleventh century the West developed a new and more power-

⁷ E. O. von Lippmann, “Zur Geschichte des Alkohols,” *Chemiker-Zeitung*, 44 (1920): 625. Despite the efforts of Mohammed Yahia Haschmi to show the contrary, there is no firm evidence that alcohol was discovered in Islam earlier than in Europe: *aqua vitae* was given its pseudo-Arabic name by Paracelsus. “Sur l’histoire de l’alcool,” *Actes du XII^e Congrès international de l’histoire des sciences*, 1968, 3a (1971): 69–72.

⁸ “Item gebrant win gedruncken machet den menschen frolich und wohl gemüt.” Gundolf Keil, “Der deutsche Branntweintraktat des Mittelalters,” *Centaureus*, 7 (1960): 84.

⁹ Robert J. Forbes, *Short History of the Art of Distillation* (Leiden, 1948), 90–91.

ful form of crossbow, presumably made possible by a firmer trigger.¹⁰ Anna Comnena tells us that at the time of the First Crusade the Byzantines regarded it as a Frankish novelty;¹¹ eventually it spread as far as South India, where it was known as the *parangi*, or "Frankish" bow.¹² The wounds from its bolts were terrible, and in 1139, at the Second Lateran Council, Innocent II banned it on moral grounds, except for use against infidels.¹³ The prohibition was unenforceable: in the heat of warfare, every foe seemed at least a crypto-infidel. The nonquantifiable value of compassion was indeed fragile in the face of the crossbow's measurable ability to shoot further and hit harder than any other portable missile thrower before the English longbow appeared in the later thirteenth century. As between clear negative and affirmative assessments of the crossbow, the latter won out.

Edward I of England learned to respect the longbow in the hands of the Southern Welsh, both his foes and his allies. He and his staff appraised it correctly: using it in Wales and Scotland, he worked out new tactics and combinations of forces that made the English army almost invincible until toward the end of the Hundred Years' War.¹⁴ In the hands of a skilled archer, cloth-yard shafts of great striking force could be launched several times more rapidly than an equally powerful crossbow could be reloaded and shot. The supply of archers remained sufficient for nearly a century before it began to dry up because of a change in the recreational patterns of English commoners. In 1365 Edward III—a ruler of great military acumen—commanded all sheriffs to suppress bowling, quoits, handball, football, club ball, hockey, cockfighting, "and other vain games of no value," and to see to it that on Sundays and holidays Englishmen of the lower orders should practice with bows and arrows. In 1388 tennis and dice were added to the list of banned sports, and similar measures were enacted into the sixteenth century.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the long decline of English archery continued: in 1549 Bishop Hugh Latimer thundered that "we have taken up whoring in towns instead of shooting in the fields."¹⁶ When in 1595 the longbow was officially discarded by Elizabeth's army in favor of the musket, it was still technically the superior weapon.¹⁷ The musket, how-

¹⁰ The earliest picture of it that I have found—Christian Spanish, dated 1086—stresses the trigger; see Pedro de Palol and Max Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain* (New York [1967]), 58 and pl. XIV.

¹¹ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* 10.8.6, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1945), 2: 217–18.

¹² J. Hornell, "South Indian Blow-guns, Boomerangs and Crossbows," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 54 (1924): 344–45.

¹³ "Artem autem illam mortiferam et Deo odibilem ballistariorum et sagittariorum adversus Christianos et Catholicos exerceri de cetero sub anathemate prohibemus." J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Venice, 1776), 21: 533.

¹⁴ John E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901), 99–104.

¹⁵ Austin Lane Poole, "Recreations," in A. L. Poole, ed., *Medieval England* (new ed.; Oxford, 1958), 625.

¹⁶ Hugh Latimer, *Sermons*, ed. G. E. Corrie (Cambridge, 1844), 197.

¹⁷ See Thomas Esper, "The Replacement of the Longbow by Firearms in the English Army," *Technology and Culture*, 6 (1965): 393.

ever, was reasonably effective in the hands of less well-trained soldiers, and that fact was decisive.

Could Edward I have foreseen that Englishmen might not always shoot at the butts, and could he have taken successful measures to prevent the decay of archery before it proved irreversible? To tell the truth, we still do not know with any certainty the reasons for that decay. Archery doubtless prospered best in hamlets so small that they lacked a tavern or enough inhabitants for many group games. A relevant factor, long at work by Edward I's time, was the gradual shift, especially in the more fertile areas, from the ox to the swifter horse as the ordinary beast for plowing. This reduced by one-half the time spent going and coming between stable and plowland and encouraged peasants to abandon hamlets, while working the same fields, and to agglomerate into larger villages where life was more lively.¹⁸ Moreover, the shrinkage of population during the second half of the fourteenth century led to abandonment to pasture of much cultivated land of marginal productivity and small settlements: the now scarcer peasant labor was concentrated on the more profitable soils, and thus in larger villages.¹⁹ It is doubtful that any number of royal decrees could have perpetuated archery indefinitely in the face of the new tempo and variety of popular life in late medieval England. In any event, three centuries after Edward, Elizabeth was forced by the dearth of skilled personnel to resort to the technically inferior musket.

What about medieval artillery? The torsion artillery of Hellenistic and Roman times was often unsatisfactory because the skeins of hair or sinews powering the machines stretched in wet weather and lost their resilience. During the later Carolingian period the West received from Islam—or else by way of Islam—a new sort of stone thrower consisting of a horizontally pivoted beam with a sling at the shooting end and ropes at the other that were pulled simultaneously by a gang of men.²⁰ This was an artillery for all seasons, and it probably replaced the classical types speedily. The pattern remained unchanged until toward 1200, when some engineer, a European it would seem,²¹ realized that labor could be saved, size increased, and accuracy of aim improved if a great counterweight were substituted for the gang of men who pulled the ropes. Such machines, called trebuchets, developed amazing capacities in the early thirteenth century. The counterweight and firing arm being uniform, properly calibrated stone balls of equal weight would hit the same spot on a fortification at each shot.²² A great trebuchet designed by Bishop Durand of Albi in 1244 to besiege the

¹⁸ See Lynn White, jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford, 1962), 67–68.

¹⁹ Maurice W. Beresford finds little evidence of immediate and catastrophic abandonment of settlements following the epidemics. *The Lost Villages of England* (London, 1954), especially 158–66.

²⁰ Donald R. Hill, "Trebuchets," *Viator*, 4 (1973): 99–114.

²¹ Muslims often called the largest trebuchets "Frankish machines" (*manjaniq faranjī*).

²² Such trebuchet balls were being produced according to engineers' specifications in England by 1244; see John Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects* (London, 1954), 111.

Cathar stronghold of Montségur threw a forty-kilogram missile at its walls at twenty-minute intervals, day and night, for weeks and proved to be the key, opening defenses that had seemed impregnable.²³

Had an Office of Technology Assessment been asked to present a report on gunpowder artillery when it first appeared at Florence in 1326,²⁴ the measuring rod of effectiveness would have been the trebuchet. The earliest cannon were crude, cumbersome, and inefficient. They were costly to make and costly to supply with their chemical fuel. They could not be aimed with any great exactness; they were slow to load and to fire; they could rarely hit the same spot on a fortification twice because of irregular composition and combustion of the powder. The shaking of gunpowder during transport made the lighter charcoal particles rise to the top, with the result that early gunpowder had to be carefully remixed just before it was used: a perilous process during battle. We have no evidence that corned gunpowder—designed to prevent this difficulty and also to assure even combustion by introducing small air spaces—was known before 1429.²⁵ Any rational technology assessment of the cannon in 1326 or for a hundred years later would have concluded: “Stick to the trebuchet.”

Yet Europe did not stick to the trebuchet: by the end of the century trebuchets had been practically discarded.²⁶ Why? Probably because of the cannon’s splendid roar and flash, and also because the extravagance of it made it a status symbol. The greater cost-benefit efficiency of the trebuchet as a weapon succumbed to the nonquantifiable values of vanity and political visibility. It was decades after the eclipse of the trebuchet that the prolonged labors of guncasters, industrial chemists, and gunners finally transformed cannon into an artillery as effective as the kind it had replaced. One doubts that any futurologist of 1326, contemplating those cannon at Florence, could have anticipated so complex a course for the new weapon.

There is at least one instance of the social impact of a medieval invention that might easily have been assessed intelligently, only to have the prognosis overturned by later events. As Edward Rosen of the City University of New York has shown, eyeglasses were invented by a man who was living in the Lucca-Pisa area in the 1280s.²⁷ They were a boon to the presbyopic, and

²³ Fernand Niel, *Montségur: le site, son histoire* (Grenoble, 1962), 222.

²⁴ Carlo M. Cipolla reproduces the Florentine document of February 11, 1326, referring to the purchase of “pillas seu palloctas ferreas et canones de mettallo.” *Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion, 1400–1700* (London, 1965), 32 pl. An English manuscript of 1327 shows a picture of a cannon; thereafter the evidence is massive.

²⁵ See A. O. von Essenwein, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Feuerwaffen* (Leipzig, 1872), 25.

²⁶ Philippe Contamine concludes that the expansion of French royal artillery was particularly rapid in 1395–1400; he cites Christine de Pisan’s list of matériel needed for a great siege as including 8 trebuchets of 2 models, but also 128 cannon supplied with 30,000 pounds of powder; for the projected siege of Calais at just that time (1406) the French army procured at least 20,000 pounds of powder. *Guerre, état et société à la fin du moyen âge: Études sur les armées des rois de France, 1337–1494* (Paris, 1972), 229 n.115, 665–66.

²⁷ Edward Rosen, “The Invention of Eyeglasses,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 11 (1956): 13–46, 182–218.

their use spread rapidly. Any contemporary, if he had thought about it, could have seen that this would enable aging men in teaching, the book trade, law, bureaucracy, banking, commerce—indeed, in any occupation that demanded frequent reading—to keep actively at work longer than otherwise would have been possible. Eyeglasses thus would slow the promotion of younger men, lead to discontent among them, and produce a generation gap. Indeed, *a priori*, the common use of spectacles certainly tended to produce such a slowing of youthful careers. However, the first half of the fourteenth century was a period of such turmoil that life expectancies seem to have decreased even before the catastrophe of the Black Death.²⁸ While young and old perished alike, the higher general incidence of death led to increased velocity in promotions and thus masked the reverse effects of the introduction of eyeglasses.

There are some technological developments that seem initially so modest, and that grow so quietly, that even in our own day no one would wonder about their impact until long after the effects were irreversible. Leroy J. Dresbeck of Western Washington State College has recently clarified such an instance in his study of the chimney flue and mantled fireplace.²⁹

For heating, the Romans used braziers and hypocausts (radiant heating). Braziers burned charcoal and were thus costly to operate; moreover, in a room tightly closed against the weather they were dangerous: the Emperor Julian, wintering in Paris, was once nearly killed by carbon monoxide from a brazier.³⁰ Hypocausts were inflexible and wasteful of fuel because they heated the entire mass of the masonry of floors or walls. In the variable climate of Northern Europe, and especially in winter, they would not do. During the early Middle Ages, whether in hovel or royal hall, people centered their lives around a fireplace in the middle of a room with a high, louvered roof to carry out the smoke. Unfortunately it carried out much of the heat as well.

By the ninth century the central fireplace was occasionally moved to a corner of the room and was covered by a hood or mantle to catch the smoke and take it out through a hole, or even up a chimney. Experimentation with the design of chimney stacks led to the discovery that a draft of air can be brought down the flue to reverse itself and draw off the smoke while leaving much of the heat to be radiated into the room. Moreover, replacement of louvers by chimneys meant that fireplaces could be located on any level of a multistoried building and not merely under a roof directly beneath the sky. In the eleventh century chimneys and mantled

²⁸ For a learned summary, see Josiah C. Russell, "Effects of Pestilence and Plague, 1315-1385," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 8 (1966): 464-73. There is some evidence that mature men were especially vulnerable to the plague.

²⁹ L. J. Dresbeck, "The Chimney and Fireplace: A Study in Technological Development Primarily in England During the Middle Ages" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1971); summary in "The Chimney and Social Change in Medieval England," *Albion*, 3 (1971): 21-32.

³⁰ *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, tr. W. C. Wright (London, 1913), 2: 430-33.

fireplaces became common in the dwellings of the great. By the end of the twelfth, even the poor were enjoying them.

Much more than simple comfort was involved. In the days of the old central fireplace, to keep warm in Northern Europe everyone from lord and lady to humblest servant lived and ate together in the great hall, and slept there, too, normally in curtained compartments. Society was hierarchical, but the strata knew each other intimately. With the new flexibility of heating made possible by chimney and mantled fireplace, privacy could be implemented. Lord and lady increasingly ate, lived, and slept in withdrawing rooms. As affluence increased, noble residences were redesigned so that rank after rank of the social structure could enjoy the new sense of individuation in its life style. To Dresbeck's remark that the chimney may have affected the art of love more than the troubadours did,³¹ one may add that it may likewise have fostered the individualism of the later Middle Ages more than all the humanists. Yet a high social price was paid for the new ideal of the idiosyncratic person. As communication between classes decreased, class consciousness and snobbery grew. By the 1370s William Langland was assessing the chimney bitterly:

Woe is in the hall each day in the week.
There the lord and lady like not to sit.
Now every rich man eats by himself
In a private parlor to be rid of poor men,
Or in a chamber with a chimney,
And leaves the great hall.³²

The chimney is as important as any other single factor in the shift from medieval to modern Occidental attitudes, and not all of this process was good. I doubt, however, whether anyone much earlier than Langland could have assessed properly its less desirable effects, and by that time the process could not be turned back.

Indeed, technology assessment becomes an enterprise of almost terrifying immediacy when we realize that our most intimate psychic structure may at times be influenced by seemingly minor external innovations. The modern American family is often a paidocracy, child centered to a degree unknown elsewhere; yet our pattern is the completion of one long developing in Europe. Philippe Ariès's *Centuries of Childhood*³³ is a blunder-

³¹ Dresbeck, "The Chimney and Fireplace," 207.

³² This passage is found only in the B text: William Langland, *The Vision of Piers the Plowman: The "Crowley" Text; or Text B*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, Early English Text Society, 38 (London, 1869), passus X, lines 93-98.

³³ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, tr. R. Baldick (New York, 1962). The French original has a more exact title: *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1960). For an acute analysis of Ariès's not-always-coherent thesis, see David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History: The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France* (New York, 1970), 27-51. Urban T. Holmes, "Medieval Children," *Journal of Social History*, 2 (1968): 164-72, warns that Ariès's picture of the plight of the medieval child is too grim; however, Richard C. Trexler, "Infanticide in Florence: New Sources and First Results," *History of Childhood Quarterly*, 1 (1973): 98-116, indicates a remarkable amount of deliberate infanticide in fifteenth-century Florence, particularly directed against girl infants.

ing and often perverse book that nevertheless establishes that in the Middle Ages no one paid much attention to children before about the age of seven, when they were admitted to the world of grown-ups. He believes that it was not until the later sixteenth or the seventeenth century that our culture discovered the "sweetness, simplicity and drollery" of small children, began to enjoy and coddle them, to accept them on their own terms, and to dress them in special clothes that were not simply small versions of adult attire. I myself would push the beginnings of the change somewhat earlier, but must recognize that in the early fifteenth century a family like the Pastons paid amazingly little attention to their younger offspring.³⁴

It is assumed that this indifference was an effort to defend adult emotions against the grim fact of infant mortality. No one could afford to invest great emotional capital in a child whose chances of survival were 50 per cent or less. Not until five to seven years had proved a certain durability could one risk great affection or interest. I believe that this hypothesis makes sense, but it leaves unexplained the reasons for the presumed improvement in child survival that at last led parents to venture lavishing affection upon the very young.

I see no clues in sanitation, diet, or medicine.³⁵ Explanation must be found elsewhere. Partly because their bodies are so small, little people are peculiarly vulnerable to cold and resulting pulmonary infections. We have already noted that in the later Middle Ages houses of all classes were better heated than before, and the increased glazing of windows helped to retain the heat. But the snugness of clothing was also much improved. The first functional buttons appeared in central Germany in the 1230s,³⁶ and by the fourteenth century they were revolutionizing costume design. In the dress of modern American and European children knit textiles are basic. The first evidence of a knit body garment (as distinct from a few specimens of socks, gloves, and so forth)³⁷ is on an altarpiece from Buxtehude near Hamburg painted in the last decade of the fourteenth century. It depicts the

³⁴ See Ann S. Haskell, "The Paston Women on Marriage in Fifteenth-Century England," *Viator*, 4 (1973): 469.

³⁵ That the first two European treatises exclusively devoted to distinguishing the medical problems of children from those of adults—Paolo Bagellardi, *Libellus de infantium aegritudinibus* (Padua, 1472) and Bartholomaeus Metlinger, *Ein Regiment der jungen Kinder* (Augsburg, 1473)—appeared only a year apart both north and south of the Alps, assuredly reflects the rather sudden development of a new attitude toward small children, but the practical medical effect of such treatises, as distinct from the effect of the new attitude, on infant mortality is in doubt.

³⁶ Some buttons were used in antiquity for ornament, but apparently not for warmth. The first functional buttons are shown ca. 1235 on the "Adamsporte" of Bamberg Cathedral and in 1239 on a relief at Bassenheim; see Erwin Panofsky, *Deutsche Plastik des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1924), plate 24; Hermann Schnitzler, "Ein unbekanntes Reiterrelief aus dem Kreise des Naumburger Meisters," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 2 (1935): 413, fig. 13.

³⁷ A. Latour is dubious about claims that certain finds in Coptic graves of the fifth to seventh centuries are in fact knitted; he holds that the first firm evidence of knitting is late medieval, notably a pair of knit gloves that belonged to Pope Clement V (d. 1314). "The Stocking," *CIBA Review*, no. 106 (1954): 3800.

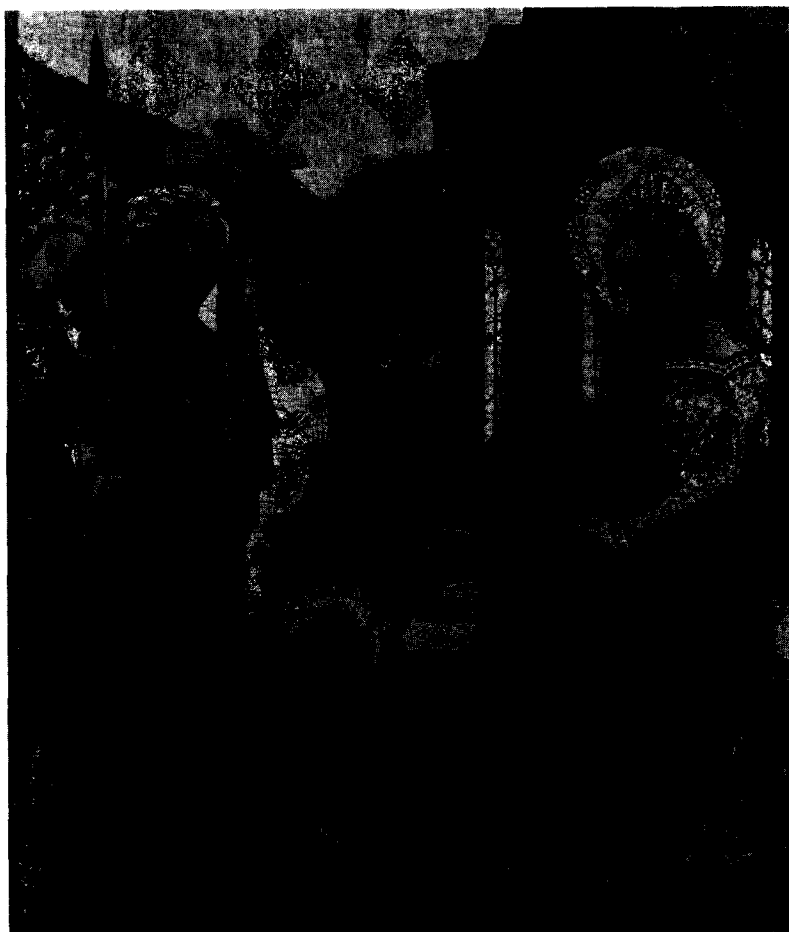


Fig. 1. Panel of the Buxtehude Altarpiece, anonymous, ca. 1395, in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg. (See n. 38.)

Virgin Mary knitting a shirt on four needles for the Christ child³⁸ (see fig. 1). It is a safe surmise that the development of knitting, along with functional buttons and heating devices, helped to keep more little children alive, and thus played a large part in fostering modern attitudes toward them. Late medieval mothers and grandmothers with clacking needles undoubtedly assessed knitting correctly as regards infant comfort and health, but that in the long run a new notion of relationships within the family would thereby be encouraged could scarcely have been foreseen.

³⁸ Hamburg, Kunsthalle. On the date and context see Wilhelm Worringer, *Die Anfänge der Tafelmalerei* (Leipzig, 1924), 193–94, fig. 59, and Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik* (Nedeln, 1934), 2: 145–50, figs. 178, 181. The knitted shirt is the seamless garment that Christ wore at his crucifixion; legend says that his mother made it and that it grew as he did. The precocious infant turns from reading scriptural prophecy to meditate upon the vision of two angels holding instruments of his passion. A whipping top lies abandoned at his side. We lack an adequate history of toys: such a study would tell us much about adult attitudes toward children.

How far into the future can even the sharpest eye look? Let me sketch another sequence that starts with textiles but ramifies curiously.

With the old topline spindle the production of thread was slow and laborious. Especially after the horizontal heddle-treadle loom displaced the vertical loom in the eleventh to twelfth centuries,³⁹ in the production of simple unpatterned cloth one weaver could use the product of many spinners. The first known spinning wheel appears in a Chinese painting of about 1035.⁴⁰ During the thirteenth century⁴¹ this invention reached Europe. We may be sure that the people making and selling textiles recognized at once—although none seems to have recorded his views—that the new instrument, by speeding yarn production, considerably reduced the labor component of the final cost of plain cloth. In the very competitive pan-European textile market of that age, this meant a lowering of prices and consequent increase of consumption. Linen was particularly affected, both because it was normally unpatterned and because it was seldom dyed, only bleached by exposure to sunlight. A good merchandiser of the late thirteenth century might have foreseen what in fact happened in the fourteenth century: an immense increase in the use of linen shirts, underwear, bed linen, towels, and even vast coifs of starched and folded linen decking the heads of fashionable ladies.

Contemporary technology assessment of the spinning wheel might reasonably have probed even further. Increased use of linen meant more linen rags, and probably cheaper. Linen rags were the best material for making paper. This meant that the burgeoning new paper industry could expand production, lower prices, and increase consumption.

I greatly doubt that even the keenest systems analyst, looking at the potential of the new spinning wheel in the thirteenth century—or perhaps for three generations thereafter—could have gone further than this. Yet with the wisdom of hindsight we can perceive that the second impact of the spinning wheel was not on the textile industry but on the book business.

To produce a large Bible took the skins of between two and three hundred sheep or calves. The preparation of parchment and vellum was arduous and the finished product expensive. By a happy chance we know that in 1280 at Bologna paper was already six times cheaper than parchment.⁴² Although I have no proof, it is probable that the relative cost of paper continued to decline. Except for deluxe volumes, paper was increasingly

³⁹ The earliest European evidence of the horizontal loom appears in the Talmudic commentary of Rabbi Rashi (d. 1105), written in Northern France; see Eleanora Carus-Wilson, "Haberget: A Medieval Textile Conundrum," *Medieval Archaeology*, 13 (1969 [1971]): 165. Rashi indicates that it is used by professional male weavers, in contrast to the old vertical loom used by women weavers.

⁴⁰ Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 4, pt. 2 (Cambridge, Eng., 1965): 758–59.

⁴¹ For the recent literature, see Walter Endrei, "Changements dans la productivité lainière au moyen âge," *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 26 (1971): 1291–99.

⁴² C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1923), 2: 317.

used in making manuscripts. This meant that the wages of the scribe became by far the greatest cost in manufacturing a book. There was every incentive to experiment with mechanical means of writing and, when a method was found, to make the considerable capital investment needed to operate it. This was Gutenberg's accomplishment. Its presupposition was the spinning wheel.

Elizabeth Eisenstein of the American University has recently revived in so salutary a way discussion of printing's impact upon our culture⁴³ that nothing need be said here. While conclusions may differ about specifics, there is agreement that the Western world was deeply shaken by the printed book. It is curious, but consonant with the axiom of the goodness of technological change, that among contemporary Europeans—save for a very few snobbish bibliophiles—enthusiasm for printing was complete.

Not so in Islam: here the technology assessment of printing was so negative that it lasted for centuries. The techniques were easily available: Maronite, Greek, Armenian, and Jewish subjects of Muslim rulers were operating presses for their own purposes long before there was any printing in Turkish, Persian, or Arabic.⁴⁴ Many parts of Islam were sophisticated and creative, as the monuments of sixteenth-century Istanbul or seventeenth-century Isfahan amply demonstrate. There was no general allergy to borrowings from Europe, as the adoption of gunpowder artillery shows.⁴⁵ The avoidance of the printing press appears to have been deliberate and selective. So far as I can discover, no one has yet explored what Muslims said to each other about printing and their opposition to it. I personally suspect that the leaders of Islamic society felt—perhaps subliminally—that cheap books would eventually destroy the elitist world that they valued. If so, they were correct, as the later history of the West proves.

THIS LITTLE CLUSTER of case studies that I have offered was selected not at random, but rather to show different levels of complexity, or different kinds of relationships, that may be found in the assessment of a new technology. My thesis is that technology assessment, if it is not to be dangerously misleading, must be based as much, if not more, on careful discussion of the imponderables in a total situation as upon the measurable elements. Systems analysis must become cultural analysis, and in this historians may be helpful.

⁴³ Among her several articles, see especially Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, "The Advent of Printing and the Problem of the Renaissance," *Past and Present*, no. 45 (1969): 19–89, and no. 52 (1971): 135–44; "The Advent of Printing in Current Historical Literature," *AHR*, 75 (1969–70): 727–43; and "L'avènement de l'imprimerie et la Réforme," *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 26 (1971): 1355–82.

⁴⁴ For the beginnings of Hebrew and Syriac printing under Islamic rule, see Jean Muller and Ernst Roth, *Aussereuropäische Druckereien im 16. Jahrhundert: Bibliographie der Drucke* (Baden-Baden, 1969), 53, 57–60, 63, 65–67. Armenian and Greek printing in the Near East began in the seventeenth century.

⁴⁵ See the remarkable study by David Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluke Kingdom: A Challenge to a Medieval Society* (London, 1956).

Naturalism and Socialism in Germany

VERNON L. LIDTKE

IN MARXISM the Social Democratic movement in Imperial Germany had one of the most powerful and appealing systems of thought of the nineteenth century, and yet it is noteworthy that the party failed to attract more than a handful of intellectuals, writers, and artists to its ranks. To be sure, Social Democracy had its thinkers and theoreticians, but it was characteristic that their reputations as intellectuals were completely merged with and subordinated to the socialist movement. Indeed many of them—for example, Karl Kautsky, Eduard Bernstein, and Rosa Luxemburg—had grown up and matured intellectually within the party and enjoyed no recognition as thinkers apart from Social Democracy. Those few, such as Franz Mehring, who joined the movement only after having achieved stature as intellectuals, were soon wholly absorbed with problems of Marxist thought and no longer maintained an identity independent of the socialist party. Only in rare instances did a writer or artist succeed in preserving an autonomous reputation as an intellectual while cooperating openly with the Social Democratic movement.

As a means of approaching the problem of Social Democracy's relationship to intellectuals in German society, it is fruitful to examine specific instances of attempted collaboration. The contacts between socialists and the naturalist literary school in Germany in the 1880s and 1890s offer a case especially suited for such an investigation. Not only did these two movements share a number of assumptions about modern life, but for a few years their members also cooperated in endeavors of mutual interest. Contemporaries easily thought of them as similar in outlook. The author of one of the most successful histories of recent German literature, Albert Soergel, joined naturalism and socialism together as if they were intellectual twins—fraternal, if not identical. Certainly socialism and naturalism could be viewed at the very least as siblings: intellectually, they shared a new outlook that emphasized the value of science; socially, they were big-city movements, participating in the emerging consciousness of a new class; philosophically,

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they tended to be deterministic, prepared to demonstrate the control of substructures over superstructures; ethically, their adherents were compassionate people, concerned for the poor and the oppressed; and methodologically, both hoped to imitate natural science, one in literature, the other in social action.¹ In view of these theoretical similarities, it was natural that personal and organizational contacts should have developed. Naturalist literature seemed uniquely suited to appeal to Social Democrats.

Before examining the Social Democratic response to literary naturalism it is first necessary to determine to what extent and for what specific reasons literary naturalists themselves were attracted to socialism, both as a theory and as a social and political movement.²

WITH ONLY A FEW EXCEPTIONS those who thought of themselves as part of the naturalist school were born in the decade from the mid-1850s to the mid-1860s.³ A suggestive coincidence becomes immediately apparent: the German labor movement also came to life in the early 1860s, first in the form of educational and mutual-aid societies affiliated with the liberals and then, in 1863, as a specifically socialist political movement under the momentary

¹ Albert Soergel, *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit* (Leipzig, 1911), 215-17. The emphasis on a close link between naturalism and socialism in Germany is also found in Heinz Selo, *Die "freie Volksbühne" in Berlin: Geschichte ihrer Entstehung und ihre Entwicklung bis zur Auflösung im Jahre 1896* (Berlin [1930]), 36-37; and Lore Fischer, *Der Kampf um den Naturalismus (1889-1899)* (Borna-Leipzig, 1930), 1. Without necessarily stressing the idea that the two movements belonged to the same intellectual family, the relationship between socialism and naturalism has also been discussed by Susanne Miller, "Critique littéraire de la Social-Démocratie Allemande à la fin du siècle dernier," *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 59 (Apr.-June 1967): 50-69; Hans Koch, *Franz Mehrings Beitrag zur marxistischen Literaturtheorie* (Berlin, 1959), 184-213; Ursula Münchow, "Naturalismus und Proletariat," *Weimarer Beiträge*, 10 (1964): 599-617; Ursula Münchow, *Deutscher Naturalismus* (Berlin, 1968); Gerhard Masur, *Imperial Berlin* (New York, 1970), 246-47; and John Osborne, *The Naturalist Drama in Germany* (Manchester, 1971).

² The question of naturalism's relationship to socialism and other radical social movements arose in other European countries, especially France, earlier than in Germany. Due to the fragmentation of the French socialist movement, the relationship between the two movements in that country appears to have been more complex than in Germany. On the larger issues of European socialists in relation to the arts and to intellectuals, the recent publication by Donald D. Egbert, *Social Radicalism and the Arts: Western Europe* (New York, 1970), gives an encyclopedic overview but fails to analyze the problems raised by these relationships.

³ Those born in the 1850s include Heinrich Hart (1855-1906) and Julius Hart (1859-1930), Karl Bleibtreu (1859-1928), Max Kretzer (1854-1941), and Hermann Sudermann (1857-1928). A larger group, born in the 1860s, includes Arno Holz (1863-1929), Gerhart Hauptmann (1862-1946), Johannes Schlaf (1862-1941), Otto Erich Hartleben (1864-1905), Hermann Conrad (1862-90), Max Halbe (1864-1944), Leo Berg (1862-1908), Paul Ernst (1866-1937), Karl Henckell (1864-1929), and Eugen Wolff (1863-1929). Two or three naturalists do not fit in this generational grouping: Michael Georg Conrad (1846-1927), Detlev von Liliencron (1844-1909), and Ludwig Anzengruber (1839-89). Of these, Anzengruber was not a part of the mainstream of German naturalism as it emerged in the 1880s. Since this is not an essay in literary criticism, I have been content to follow the guide of standard literary histories and handbooks as to who is to be included in the naturalist school: e.g., Heinz Otto Burger, ed., *Annalen der deutschen Literatur* (2d ed.; Stuttgart, 1971); Jethro Bithell, *Modern German Literature 1880-1950* (3d ed.; London, 1959); Herbert A. Frenzel and Elisabeth Frenzel, *Daten Deutscher Dichtung* (3d ed.; Cologne, 1962); Otto Mann, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte* (Gütersloh, 1964); Wilhelm Duwe, *Deutsche Dichtung des 20. Jahrhunderts vom Naturalismus zum Surrealismus* (Zurich, 1962); and Adalbert von Hanstein, *Das jüngste Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1890).

leadership of Ferdinand Lassalle. Later in the 1860s Wilhelm Liebknecht, recently returned from a London exile where he had associated with Marx and Engels, and August Bebel, a politically talented young wood turner, founded another branch of the labor movement, one that too clearly identified itself with socialist theory before the end of the decade. In an important chronological sense the naturalists were the siblings, not of the early socialist personalities, who were of an older generation, but of the socialist organization itself. In elementary school or in the Gymnasium the future naturalists may already have been vaguely aware of the existence of a party of malcontents, atheists, and revolutionaries held to be the pariahs of German society because they refused to honor Bismarck and were accused—unjustly—of two assassination attempts on the life of Emperor William I in 1878. Certainly by the late 1870s or early 1880s, when most of the naturalists were of university age, they would have been fully aware not only of the disobedient socialists but also of the immense significance of the “social question,” a subject that had gained considerable academic respectability by that time. But they would not have learned about socialism from their immediate families: they were not the children of the modern working classes or of the socialist movement.⁴ They were by birth outsiders to that world of toilers and rebels, insiders to the more placid and methodical realm of the *Bildungsbürgertum*. They grew to young manhood while the Social Democratic party also grew to political maturity, but they did not grow up with it, only near it.

How young intellectuals of that generation, reared in comparative comfort and educated in the esteemed German tradition, came to appreciate the strivings of the socialist movement is a cultural problem of considerable complexity. Initially curiosity impelled many of them to inquire about socialism, and when they did they often found that the excitement, enthusiasm, and idealism proved irresistible. The brothers Heinrich and Julius Hart, Westphalian provincial foreigners in metropolitan and Prussian Berlin, were caught up in the excitement and attended socialist meetings in that city before 1878. “All the followers [of socialism],” Heinrich Hart wrote later, “felt themselves part of a greater brotherhood, awaiting, in a kind of ecstasy, the approaching transformation of all things. We would not have been young, not believers in the future, had that idealism not excited us.” Fascination with the spontaneous idealism of the socialists led to some personal contacts, even with the notorious Johann Most, Heinrich Hart tells us. In the eyes of solid citizens Johann Most was one of the most outrageous of the whole socialist lot, and Hart himself described the disfigured

⁴ The important exception may be Max Kretzer, who, though born into the family of a restaurateur in Posen, East Prussia, was raised in Berlin after the family suffered serious economic setbacks; as a teenager he worked in a lamp factory. See Günther Keil, *Max Kretzer: A Study in German Naturalism* (New York, 1928), 12–13. Although the young naturalists sometimes described their existence in Berlin in terms of severe economic deprivation, their poverty stemmed more from their youthful bohemian tendencies than from impoverished social origins.

Social Democratic delegate to the Reichstag as a “swirling hothead, chaotic, boorish, biased, and fanatical.”⁵

In Berlin other young intellectuals, also captivated by the sanguine vision of the socialists, or sometimes by their defiant temperament, gathered around the Hart brothers. The apartment the Hart brothers rented in the Luisenstrasse, directly over the tracks of the newly built municipal rapid-transit system, became the meeting place of this young generation. “Our two rooms in the north of Berlin,” Heinrich Hart reminisced, “in which we lived totally *à la bohémienne*, were often filled with young revolutionaries who at any moment verbally destroyed the whole world and created a new one. . . . Almost every evening people gathered with us or in some corner pub.” Everyone mentioned the bohemian style of the Harts, their unique and radical associates. When he visited the Harts’ “miserable quarters,” Wilhelm Bölsche found there the “most unusual characters”—student dropouts, agitated young poets with no publications, unemployed actors, and assorted other types engaged in excited debate or sleeping on the sofa.⁶

Many of those young dissidents who destroyed the old world and built a new one with a few words or passed a night on the Harts’ sofa achieved nothing greater and vanished from the literary world. But some gained considerable recognition. In the Harts’ apartment one could frequently meet Wilhelm Arendt—nervous, flighty, brilliant, at age twenty-one the editor, and publisher, of *Moderne Dichter-Charaktere* (1885), an anthology of poems by the members of the Berlin circle and their associates in other cities.⁷ Karl Henckell arrived in Berlin around 1884, a zealous nationalist, singing the praises of Bismarck and the new German Empire. “But the big city quickly changed his outlook,” Heinrich Hart observed. “Compassion for the misery he saw around us, and certainly the impact of our circle transformed him, almost imperceptibly, into a socialist, into an advocate of socialist literature.” Otto Erich Hartleben also came into the circle of the Hart brothers, at first a proper, well-behaved, totally orthodox young student at the university. The new city environment changed him, too. After a few months he had fallen in with the “social movement” and commenced the semirebellious, semihedonistic, and fitful bohemian existence that he followed throughout his life.⁸ The incredibly good showing of the Social Democrats in the election of 1884, despite the repressive antisocialist legislation under which they lived, and their intransigent demeanor in

⁵ Heinrich Hart, “Wir Westfalen,” in Heinrich Hart, *Gesammelte Werke* (Berlin, 1907), 3: 35.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 51; Wilhelm Bölsche, *Hinter der Weltstadt* (Jena, 1904), 77. The Hart household provided Ernst von Wolzogen with the model for his play, *Lumpengesindel* (Riffraff), first performed in 1891. Although Wolzogen was part of the young naturalist tendency, he had not been an associate of the Hart brothers and built his impression of their existence from second-hand accounts. Both Heinrich Hart and Bölsche believe that he missed the spirit of the Harts’ form of life.

⁷ Soergel, *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit*, 90–91.

⁸ Heinrich Hart, “Wir Westfalen,” 54; Heinrich Hart, “Otto Erich,” in *Gesammelte Werke*, 4: 24–25.

parliament delighted the twenty-year-old Hartleben, as he wrote in a letter in the autumn of that year: "And the twenty-four Social Democrats who are now in the Reichstag are not *Honorationen* who sit in the Reichstag as a peripheral but honorary entertainment; those [Social Democrats] are men with scowling brows and the passionate eyes of a fanatic. They don't miss a session on any day to go snipe hunting."⁹ All his life Hartleben seems to have experienced a vicarious sense of political rebellion through personal contact with a few socialists and informed observation of the party's activities.

If the group around the Harts could not be found in the apartment in the Luisenstrasse, then several evenings a week one could find them in the Würzburger Bräu. In addition to Hartleben, Henckell, and Arendt they were often joined by Karl Bleibtreu, the author of the manifesto, *Revolution der Litteratur* (1885), Max Kretzer, and Hermann Conradi, the latter a restless and talented spirit who suffered seriously from asthma and died in 1890. At about the same time Heinrich Hart had founded a new journal, the *Berliner Monatshefte*, a short-lived adventure that nonetheless led to contacts with Adalbert von Hanstein, the first literary historian of the naturalists in Germany, and Arno Holz, one of the most talented of the young naturalist poets.¹⁰ Like Henckell and Hartleben, Holz quickly professed sympathy for the goals of the Social Democrats, but as with most of his literary companions he would not commit himself to party membership. Nonetheless Detlev von Liliencron, an older naturalist who did not share the younger generation's social and political radicalism, thought of Holz as a wild radical and called him "one of the reddest Social Democrats," a description that seems exaggerated in retrospect but may have been appropriate at that time.¹¹

Other students came into the informal group, friendships expanded, and under the leadership of Leo Berg (1862–1908), an aspiring writer who turned literary critic in later years, and Julius Türk (b. 1865), an actor, they established a more formal society, the *Durchkreis*, or *Durch Circle*.¹² In addition to the young bohemians around the Hart brothers, the *Durch Circle* included

⁹ Otto Erich Hartleben to "Lieber Onkel Wendeborn," Nov. 24, 1884, in Otto Erich Hartleben, *Briefe an Freunde*, ed. Franz Ferdinand Heitmueller (Berlin, 1912), 2: 44. During the first part of August 1893 Hartleben was in Zurich to attend the meeting of the Second International, not as a delegate to be sure, but as a sympathetic observer. He managed to obtain a press card, which gave him certain advantages so that he could follow the proceedings in detail. With considerable excitement he reported all of this to his wife in letters of August 8, 9, and 10, 1893, in Otto Erich Hartleben, *Briefe an seine Frau, 1887–1905*, ed. Franz Ferdinand Heitmueller (Berlin, 1908), 173–75.

¹⁰ Heinrich Hart, "Wir Westfalen," 57, 59–60.

¹¹ Arno Holz, *Briefe: Eine Auswahl*, ed. Anita Holz and Max Wagner (Munich, 1948), 66–67; Detlev von Liliencron to Hermann Friedrichs, July 5, 1885, in Detlev von Liliencron, *Ausgewählte Briefe*, ed. Richard Dehmel (Berlin, 1910), 1: 118.

¹² Hanstein, *Das jüngste Deutschland*, 71–79. During 1887 the circle kept brief minutes of its meetings, later edited by the Institut für Literatur- und Theaterwissenschaft zu Kiel as *Verein Durch, Facsimile der Protokolle 1887: Aus der Werdezeit des deutschen Naturalismus* (Kiel, 1932).

a variety of young men who combined literary ambitions with a concern for current social problems and the socialist movement. Among them one finds John Henry McKay (1864–1933), the German-Scot with anarchist proclivities; Eugen Wolff (1863–1929), the author of theoretical essays on naturalism and later a professor of German literature at Kiel; Johannes Schlaf (1862–1941), for several years a close collaborator with Arno Holz; and the Austrian Hermann Bahr (1863–1934), at that time a student of social science at the university in Berlin and a friend of the young Viennese socialist, Victor Adler.¹³ Some achieved greater fame than others. Gerhart Hauptmann, soon to be the most significant dramatist of his generation, attended some of the meetings of the Durch Circle in 1887. At the University of Breslau a few years earlier he had been a member of another small circle of socially concerned students who, in youthful enthusiasm, had planned to found a socialist commune in the United States. The activities of that group had in fact attracted the attention of the police, and Hauptmann, though not actually charged with a political crime, was required to testify at a trial in 1887.¹⁴ Although bourgeois and aristocratic Germans may have viewed Hauptmann as a dangerous Social Democrat, he was essentially a moderate sympathizer. In later years his earlier socialist inclinations no longer appeared so significant, as he indicated in his memoir: "If I stood close to socialism, still I did not feel myself a socialist."¹⁵ Similar traits typified most members of the Durch Circle: compassion for the impoverished, indignation with the complacency of the propertied, enchantment with the heretical "Sozis," but seldom total engagement in the inner workings of the labor movement.

That was the norm, but a few young naturalists in the Durch Circle did become deeply involved in the activities of the Social Democratic party. Bruno Wille (1860–1928), an amalgam of religious free thinker, literary promoter, and socialist maverick, played a leading role among the rebellious group known as the Jungen within the Social Democratic party in 1890 and 1891. Though Wille did not remain in the party long after the Jungen had been defeated by the party executive under August Bebel's determined leadership in 1891, there is no doubt about his strong sympathy for socialism at the time. Another of the more strongly committed socialists within

¹³ Hanstein, *Das jüngste Deutschland*, 73; Annemarie Lange, *Berlin zur Zeit Bebels und Bismarcks* (Berlin [ca. 1960]), 358–68; Hermann Bahr, *Selbstbildnis* (Berlin, 1923), 171–72, 188–89; Eugen Wolff, *Prolegomena der Litterat-Evolutionistischen Poetik* (Kiel, 1890); Johannes Schlaf, *Aus meinem Leben* (Halle [Salle] [1941]), 27.

¹⁴ Heinz Lux, "Der Breslauer Sozialistenprozess," in Walter Heynen, ed., *Mit Gerhart Hauptmann: Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse aus seinem Freundeskreis* (Berlin, 1922), 69–82. It is an interesting side light that one of the members of that Breslau circle, the medical student, Ferdinand Simon, married August Bebel's daughter in 1891. Writing to Friedrich Engels beforehand about the engagement, Bebel said, "It will be a genuine Social Democratic wedding." Bebel to Engels, Apr. 9, 1890, in August Bebel, *August Bebels Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, ed. Werner Blumenberg (The Hague, 1965), 388.

¹⁵ Gerhart Hauptmann, *Das Abenteuer meiner Jugend*, reprinted in *Die Grossen Beichten* (Berlin, 1966), 603.

the Durch Circle was Paul Ernst (1866–1937), also a member of the Jungen, for some time a contributor to socialist publications, and within a few years one of naturalism's most vigorous critics.¹⁶ Also there was Wilhelm Bölsche, the author of a scientifically oriented theoretical statement of naturalism, *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Poesie* (1887), a writer of popularized science, and a loyal follower of Social Democracy for many years.¹⁷ The actor Julius Türk also considered himself a socialist and showed a deep concern for the condition of the laboring poor by writing a brochure on rural workers, *Ursprung und Lage der ländlichen Arbeiter* (1890). Although Karl Kautsky, in an unusually long review by the standards of *Die neue Zeit*, found Türk wanting in knowledge of socialist literature, he also believed that if revised the brochure could be effective as party propaganda.¹⁸ Kautsky did not make such positive judgments lightly, for he played his role as the party's leading Marxist theoretician with monumental earnestness. Türk was clearly gaining acceptance among socialists. Although the Durch Circle was not in fact a socialist club and its chief concerns were not political and definitely not revolutionary, a fair number of its members identified fully with socialism—as they understood it—and very few did not find something appealing in it.

After 1887 the Durch Circle waned as an organization, but the same people, with some changes, preserved their intellectual companionship in what came to be known as the Friedrichshagen circle. In 1888 Wilhelm Bölsche and Bruno Wille had moved to the attractive village of Friedrichshagen, located approximately halfway between the Berlin city limits and Erkner, the village where Gerhart Hauptmann and his young bride had lived since 1886. Others also moved to Friedrichshagen—the Hart brothers in 1890, for example—and those who did not live there made frequent and lengthy visits. In addition to the many members of the older Durch Circle, new faces now joined the intellectual and social gatherings in Friedrichshagen, including Gerhart Hauptmann's brother Karl, Max Halbe, Frank Wedekind, Richard Dehmel, Wilhelm Hegeler, Hans von Gumpenberg, Wilhelm von Polenz, Georg Hirschfeld, Peter Hille, and Johannes Schlaf. The Kampffmeyer brothers, Paul and Bernhard, were also in the circle, and, along with Wille, Paul was one of those radical young socialists who challenged the party leadership in 1890–91.¹⁹

Friedrichshagen became a symbol for the spirit of the naturalist move-

¹⁶ Bruno Wille, *Aus Traum und Kampf: Mein 60 jähriges Leben* (3d ed.; Berlin, 1920), 23–29; Paul Ernst, *Jünglingsjahre* (Munich, 1931), 166–78, 203–06, 260–65; Soergel, *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit*, 857–62.

¹⁷ Bölsche also gave courses and lectures in the Berlin Arbeiter-Bildungsschule, which had been founded by Wilhelm Liebknecht in 1890. See Bölsche, *Hinter der Weltstadt*, 212; and Hanstein, *Das jüngste Deutschland*, 184–86.

¹⁸ Kautsky's review is in the *Die neue Zeit*, 9, pt. 1 (1890–91): 490–91.

¹⁹ Heinrich Hart, "Wir Westfalen," 64–65, 67. See also Bruno Wille, "Erinnerungen an Gerhart Hauptmann und seine Dichtergeneration," in Heynen, *Mit Gerhart Hauptmann*, 102–05; Münchow, *Deutscher Naturalismus*, 77–82; and Schlaf, *Aus meinem Leben*, 35.

ment and for the sense of approaching greatness felt by the community. It also represented a link between naturalism and socialism. After the turn of the century Wilhelm Bölsche subtitled a collection of his essays "Friedrichshagen Thoughts on Esthetic Culture," and others remembered the scene with enthusiasm. "Oh days of Friedrichshagen!" exclaimed Heinrich Hart, "of wanderings around the Müggelsee and through the Müggel Hills. Wonderful hours of dreamy meditations in the Kiefernheide, shared creativity and activity and searchings, joyous drinking sessions and serious work by oneself." Many currents of thought and feeling were intermixed in the life of the Friedrichshagen circle. Social concern and socialism were more evident than before among the naturalists, in part because several were now active participants in the inner workings of the Social Democratic party. "Within a short time," Heinrich Hart recalled, "Friedrichshagen was a focal point of literary activity and likewise of the social movement." As Max Halbe perceived it, two tendencies brought together the members of the Friedrichshagen circle: socialism and bohemianism. If he remembered correctly nearly fifty years later, bohemianism and sex actually prevailed over socialism. "In the forefront of all discussions stood always the new morality, the change in the relationship between the sexes, free love and marriage according to one's conscience."²⁰ Sex and socialism, bohemianism and *Gemeinschaftsgefühl*, literary striving and a yearning for nature, all of these and more can be found as strains in Friedrichshagen. Despite Halbe's emphasis on sex, in the first years of the 1890s, while Wille, Bölsche, and the Kampffmeyer brothers were prominent in the rebellion within the Social Democratic party, socialism held a leading place in their mutual concerns.

Although most of naturalist literary activity developed within the Berlin environment, a second circle emerged in Munich around Michael Georg Conrad, one of the few important naturalists who did not belong to the younger generation. In 1885 he had founded a new journal for the promotion of modern ideas in literature and the arts; the journal's name, *Die Gesellschaft* (The Society), reflected its modern and social orientation.²¹ In Munich, too, socialism became the subject of intense discussions, and Conrad published several essays on the topic, stimulating further contact between socialists and naturalists. One of the most important reformist Social Democrats, Georg von Vollmar, contributed essays on numerous subjects to Conrad's journal, and the two of them were on friendly terms for many years.²² The exact degree of Conrad's interest in socialism is difficult to

²⁰ Heinrich Hart, "Wir Westfalen," 64, 66; Max Halbe, *Jahrhundertwende: Geschichte meines Lebens, 1893-1914* (Danzig, 1935), 39.

²¹ Hanstein, *Das jüngste Deutschland*, 61-62.

²² There are four letters from Michael Georg Conrad to Georg von Vollmar in the Vollmar Papers (no. 405) in the International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam. The contents indicate that the two were good friends, though not intimate. The fact that the letters are from 1891, 1895, 1906, and 1920 shows that it was a lasting friendship and thus of special interest for the relationship of socialists and bourgeois intellectuals.

ascertain; that he felt its pull, at least for a few years, is certain. It appears also that Carl Bleibtreu, a coeditor on *Die Gesellschaft*, was attracted to socialism. It fit easily with his esthetic views, for Bleibtreu believed that literature, to be viable, had to confront the distressing social conditions of the new industrial society, a position he had elaborated in his pugnacious manifesto of 1885.²³

Within the Munich circle several were fully committed to the socialist cause. The most involved was Franz Held (pseudonym for Franz Herzfeld), who wrote for the *Süddeutsche Postillion*, a humor magazine of the Social Democratic party. The magazine had been the property of Louis Viereck for several years and was at the time under the editorship of Bruno Schönlanck, a popular journalist of the Social Democratic movement. In 1889 Held published a dramatic piece, "A Festival at the Bastille," commemorating the centenary of the outbreak of the French Revolution with a socialist interpretation.²⁴ Ludwig Scharf attacked the existing social order and wrote a semianarchist literary piece in his *Lieder eines Menschen* (1892), in which he also took up the cause of atheism. As indicated in the beginning of one of his poems—"I am a proletarian"—Scharf thought of himself as a spiritual comrade of struggling workers and revolutionaries.²⁵ In Munich, as in Berlin, the links between naturalists and socialists were clearly evident. But in the south the excitement was not nearly as great. The political currents in the Bavarian city did not have the stimulating force that they had in Berlin, where Social Democratic deputies utilized the Reichstag podium to denounce the chancellor, ridicule the insipid liberals, and call the faithful to greater commitment. The decisive developments in the relationship between naturalists and socialists came in the Imperial capital.

AN EXPERIMENT BEGAN in 1890 in Berlin that promised to bring naturalists and socialists, bourgeois intellectuals and proletarian learners together in one organization. With the informal approval of many eminent Social Democrats, Bruno Wille and Wilhelm Bölsche took the lead in founding a theater society, the Freie Volksbühne, to be especially suitable for the workers of Berlin and the members of the socialist movement.²⁶ The new theater society would serve a number of purposes. As a private organization similar to the Freie Bühne, founded a year earlier, it could legally side-step the public censorship laws that had been used frequently to restrict the presentation of modern drama. With the Freie Volksbühne the naturalists and other modernists would have still another outlet for their works.²⁷ But the Freie Volksbühne would be of even greater social benefit. It would bring

²³ Carl Bleibtreu, *Revolution der Litteratur* (3d ed.; Leipzig [1887]), 13, 36, 55.

²⁴ Hanstein, *Das jüngste Deutschland*, 134–35; Münchow, *Deutscher Naturalismus*, 15–16.

²⁵ Soergel, *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit*, 224–27.

²⁶ Julius Bab, ed., *Wesen und Weg der Berliner Volksbühnenbewegung* (Berlin, 1919), 5–6; Eduard Bernstein, *Die Geschichte der Berliner Arbeiter-Bewegung* (Berlin, 1910), 3: 393; Selo, *Die "freie Volksbühne" in Berlin*, 45–52.

²⁷ Hanstein, *Das jüngste Deutschland*, 184–87.

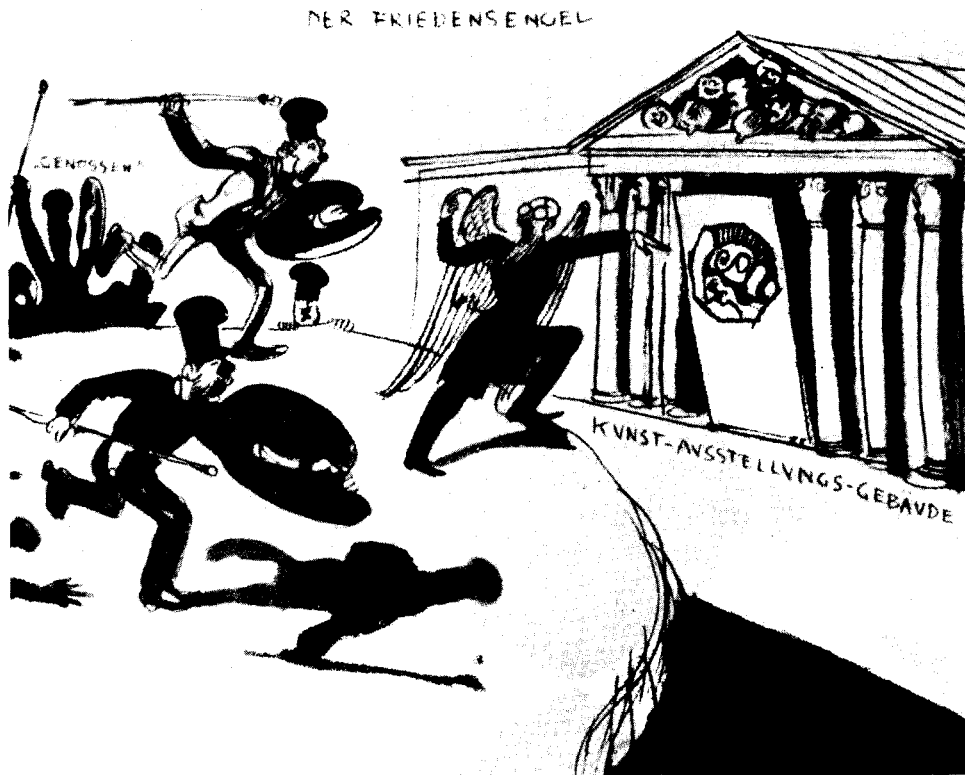


Fig. 1. A caricature from 1893 by Franz von Stuck (1863–1928), German illustrator and painter, depicting Social Democratic comrades (*Genossen*) supporting the attack of the naturalist tendency in the arts against established traditions.

workers into immediate contact with the dramatic works of naturalism that, in the judgment of the founders, were tailored precisely to fit the socialist movement.²⁸ Their assumption seemed obvious and justified: since so many naturalists recognized, to some degree, the value of the socialist cause, certainly the honor would be reciprocated. The beginnings gave cause for optimism. The founding meetings in the summer of 1890 were attended by hundreds of interested people, membership expanded rapidly, and once the performances commenced—always on Sunday afternoons—the totally unsophisticated audiences were highly responsive, clapping and laughing at all the wrong times.²⁹

²⁸ According to Heinrich Hart, Bruno Wille's program statement at one of the founding meetings called for "a new theater for the new art, the art of truth and reality, the art of emancipation and of social regeneration." "Wir Westfalen," 80. See also Selo, *Die "freie Volksbühne" in Berlin*, 56–60.

²⁹ A number of accounts have been left by educated persons about the enthusiastic lack of sophistication of the audiences at the performances of the Freie Volksbühne. The implication that all of these unsophisticated listeners were workers is not necessarily true, for some of them were undoubtedly Berliners of low income who took advantage of an opportunity to buy inexpensive tickets. When tickets were later distributed chiefly through the trade unions and the Social Democratic party, however, the audiences were made up largely of socialist workers. In 1895, for example, occupational surveys show that working-class people made up a majority of the membership, but also that these were almost entirely skilled craftsmen. Selo, *Die "freie Volksbühne" in Berlin*, 157–65.

The harmonious spirit of the honeymoon encounter, however, soon gave way to uneasiness and doubts as each partner learned of the puzzling habits of the other, and mutual—and warranted—suspicions of infidelity grew. When socialists failed to display unlimited enthusiasm for all of the recent dramatic works, the literary intellectuals lamented the lack of esthetic appreciation and understanding. Social Democrats—leaders as well as rank and file—had known little or nothing about the actual content of naturalist literary works before the founding of the Freie Volksbühne in 1890. German naturalism itself had made scarcely any public impact before the mid-1880s, and it is understandable that most Social Democrats, deeply preoccupied with their struggle against Bismarck's oppressive measures, were not yet familiar with the authors of the new school. The socialists, for that matter, were generally unacquainted with drama, novels, and poetry, except for a smattering they had acquired in the Volksschule. Their literary taste, untrained and unsophisticated, could hardly have been more daring than that of respectable German citizens who applauded the use of censorship laws to prohibit public exhibitions of educated "obscenity." Since in the 1880s socialists had at best only a very incomplete grasp of naturalism, the initial expression of shared goals had come chiefly from the side of the naturalists. After 1890, when Social Democrats learned more about naturalism, assumptions about common principles, beliefs, and goals could be tested for the first time.

The test began immediately. Early in 1891, in a brief reference to dramatic works sponsored by the Freie Volksbühne, Wilhelm Liebknecht, still one of the inner circle of socialist leadership, expressed his dismay to find not a "breath of [what is] socialist, or . . . of the socialist movement" in the plays of the naturalists. With more than a touch of unsympathetic condescension, he proclaimed that the dramatic works of "Youngest Germany" had nothing young about them, that they could have originated in an earlier historical epoch, and that for the naturalists the present was a "book closed with seven seals." That was typical Liebknecht: confident and categorical, although he admitted that he had only a limited experience with the theater on which to base his judgments. But he knew about socialism, and disillusioned with his first exposure to modern drama, he questioned openly whether art and literature could be of value in the struggle for proletarian socialism. "The old, the young, and the youngest Germany," Liebknecht concluded petulantly, "which have an understanding for the social movement, fight, and those who do not fight have no comprehension of the social movement. And fighting Germany has no time for writing poetry."³⁰

One can easily understand why Liebknecht's unkind comments perplexed the young literary missionaries. The old socialist seemed unwilling to meet them halfway. "What is [Liebknecht] thinking," asked Otto Brahm, the energetic spirit behind the founding of the Freie Bühne in 1889 and an

³⁰ Wilhelm Liebknecht, "Brief aus Berlin," *Die neue Zeit*, 9, pt. 1 (1890-91): 709, 710.

intimate friend of the Freie Volksbühne, "and what is his artistic idea? That art must mirror socialism in every detail? Dramatized Marx in five acts? That sounds like a joke, but in fact I believe that one cannot be too crude in trying to imagine what he thinks." Brahm had little difficulty in showing that Liebknecht had built his view of the naturalists on woefully inadequate knowledge, but that did not also explain Liebknecht's discouraging comments about "fighting Germany" having no time for literary endeavors. As a believer in art, Brahm had little comprehension of Liebknecht's meaning and thus concluded his essay with some optimistic references to the necessity and universality of literature.³¹

The impatient sarcasm expressed by Brahm might annoy socialists, but it would not shake their beliefs. Robert Schweichel (1821–1907), a socialist of Liebknecht's generation with a reputation in the movement as a poet and dramatist, offered an even more unpleasant and devastating analysis. He sought to locate naturalism historically, to specify how it fit into the interrelated development of social classes and literature. The naturalists, he found, were not the wave of the future, as they imagined, but an unpromising literary refuse spewed forth by a bourgeois culture in its declining stages. They were "a necessary consequence of the development of the bourgeois class, a last stylistic form in its literature, comparable to capitalist anarchy in the economic realm."³² Schweichel spoke favorably of the social criticism of the naturalists, but they offered nothing more, no solutions, no hope, and no idealism. "And also in its philosophical outlook," Schweichel commented, "the [naturalist] school is only an expression of the bourgeoisie. . . . In truth pessimism is the declaration of bankruptcy in philosophy. It is not progress in philosophy, but a retrogression." The naturalists perceived no hope because they belonged to a class that had no future. Their social perceptions had been shaped by their own bourgeois existence, and they could not be expected to grasp the meaning of something they could not experience. In that way Schweichel accounted for the pervasive pessimism in their writings.³³

Confronted with Schweichel's interpretation, Julius Hart, in an article intended as a rebuttal, demonstrated that Schweichel was ill-informed on naturalism, suggested strongly that his failure to understand the new currents could be explained by the generation gap, and went on believing that the naturalists were destined to be embraced by more enlightened Social Democrats. Elderly socialists and unsophisticated party hacks, after all, were not likely to have the breadth of vision necessary for a just appraisal of the social worth of literary naturalism. Admitting that naturalist authors had not always known how to portray workers and socialists, Hart nonetheless felt optimistic that these flaws would be corrected, and if

³¹ Otto Brahm, "Naturalismus und Sozialismus," *Freie Bühne*, 2 (1891): 241, 242–43.

³² Robert Schweichel, "Deutschlands jüngste Dichterschule," *Die neue Zeit*, 9, pt. 2 (1890–91): 630.

³³ *Ibid.*, 627–29.

the Social Democratic party would only show more interest in literature, the companionship that had begun would be sustained and strengthened.³⁴

Hart's expectations were only partially fulfilled. True, there were some young socialists who seemed to endorse the modern literary school, but they were not yet of much consequence in the party. In addition to the Kampffmeyer brothers, those favorable included Kurt Eisner, Curt Baake, and Edgar Steiger, but only the latter threw himself enthusiastically into the battle for naturalism.³⁵ In contrast Paul Ernst, a past participant in the *Durch* Circle itself and a frequent contributor at the time to socialist periodicals, concluded condescendingly in 1891 that "the [new] direction [in literature] will not go beyond some acceptable experimentation. The art of the future will be built on entirely different social foundations."³⁶ One had to take Ernst's severe judgment seriously because he had arrived at it only after discussing the works of Max Kretzer ("he simply copies"), Michael Georg Conrad (he made "propaganda for the new direction"), the Hart brothers ("much that is new is certainly not to be found here"), Arno Holz and Johannes Schlaf (whom "one can call 'pure artists'"), Gerhart Hauptmann (in *Vor Sonnenaufgang* "only the speech corresponds to the new form"), and numerous others.³⁷ The defenders of naturalism could not dismiss Ernst as an aged and unknowledgeable critic venting the prejudices of the illiterate and the out of date. At the same time Ernst's position in the Social Democratic movement was too insecure to assume that he alone could have spoken for the party, but given his general agreement with Liebknecht and Schweichel his words had added meaning. Thus, as revealed by this exchange of ideas, and insults, in 1891, socialists, once they became knowledgeable about naturalism, did not interpret it as an intellectual ally but rather as a somewhat interesting literary phenomenon that would pass away with the decline of bourgeois society.

Socialists had led the way in exposing the uncertain ideological basis for a partnership. Some naturalists, too, began to stress points of contradiction. In Munich, Michael Georg Conrad published in 1891 a short treatise on the Social Democrats and the modernists to answer the impudence of Paul Ernst. It amounted to a strident manifesto against the socialists. Their errors were numerous and egregious: their internationalism violated the healthy nationalist stimulant for culture; their love of foreign literature belittled what was natively German; their theoreticians sought to make the party into a new "Order of Infallibility"; their claim

³⁴ Julius Hart, "Ein sozialdemokratischer Angriff auf das 'jüngste Deutschland,'" *Freie Bühne*, 2 (1891): 913-16.

³⁵ Kurt Eisner's contacts with the naturalists in fact predated his serious involvement, beginning in 1892, with the Social Democratic movement. See Allan Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria 1918-1919: The Eisner Regime and the Soviet Republic* (Princeton, 1965), 35-37.

³⁶ Paul Ernst, "Die neueste literarische Richtung in Deutschland," *Die neue Zeit*, 9, pt. 1 (1890-91): 519.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 513-18.

to be the saviors of modern man was a new form of the old "clerical battle cry [*Pfaffenfeldgeschrei*]"; their emphasis on the material conditions of life deprived the workers of needed spiritual nourishment; their optimism about the future was a lot of "miserable nonsense [*jammervoller Blödsinn*]"; and their movement, he finally concluded, was an imperfect outgrowth of the imperfect society in which they lived.³⁸ Conrad's unrestrained attack would not in itself have indicated a total breakdown in the relationship of socialists and naturalists. By contrast with the Friedrichshagen circle, Conrad had had a limited appreciation of Social Democracy, and the fact that he was one of the first to express disenchantment with the cultural attitudes of the socialists was not surprising. But the vehemence with which he expressed his unhappiness was noteworthy.

The controversy that erupted in the periodicals in 1891 had its parallel within the organization of the Freie Volksbühne. Social Democratic chieftains felt uncomfortable endorsing an organization over which they did not exercise control, and also, perhaps, personal contact with so many nonparty intellectuals aroused feelings of envy and uncertainty. These Social Democrats had been leading an independent and growing political movement too long to be tutored by youngsters. More important, they were involved in a political and economic contest, and they believed doggedly that everything associated with their party should be related to achieving victory.³⁹ Dramatized Marx in five acts would impress them, not as absurd, but as desirable. They wanted the audiences, whether workers, bourgeois, or party members, to get at least a hint of the socialist message on Sunday afternoon. They decried the pessimism in naturalist literature, and a few, for there were prudes and puritans among them, were obviously vexed by references, direct or indirect, to sex, excrement, and animal man. The literary intellectuals who made up the executive committee of the Freie Volksbühne defended their right to total independence and their claim to superior judgment in all esthetic matters. By the middle of 1892 the strains on the theater society were nearly unbearable, and in the fall of that year the fissure widened until the fragile construct broke into two parts. Almost to a man the literary intellectuals who had been so active in founding the society departed: Wille, Bölsche, Julius Hart, Hartleben, Adalbert von Hanstein, Wilhelm Hegeler, and others. Immediately they founded another theater society, and they named it,

³⁸ Michael Georg Conrad, *Die Sozialdemokratie und die Moderne* (Munich, 1893), 8-10, 26, 32-36. The manifesto first appeared in 1891 in two parts in *Die Gesellschaft*, 7 (1891): 583-92, 719-41.

³⁹ Party leaders like August Bebel did not limit their suspicion of intellectuals to the naturalist writers. At the time of the revisionist debate with Eduard Bernstein, as preparations were being made for the Dresden Congress in 1903, Bebel expressed that sentiment with militant bluntness in a letter to Karl Kautsky: "In Dresden I am going to preach the most intensive mistrust against all who come to us as academics and intellectuals unless they have demonstrated through action that they are party comrades of the kind we need." Bebel to Kautsky, Sept. 9, 1903, in August Bebel, *August Bebel's Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky*, ed. Karl Kautsky, Jr. (Assen, 1971), 161.

appropriately but unimaginatively, the Neue Freie Volksbühne. After troubled beginnings it survived, but without the broad social base of the original society.⁴⁰ Control of the senior society passed to persons whose primary loyalties were to the principles of Marxist socialism and to the Social Democratic party. That did not mean that it fell into the hands of the illiterate or unlearned. On the contrary, for the presidency went to Franz Mehring, a man of immense historical and literary learning, a writer of clear and engaging prose, and an imaginative and incisive thinker. But Mehring, also an intellectual from a bourgeois background, had only recently affiliated himself with Social Democracy, after having written a cutting polemical history of the movement twelve years earlier.⁴¹ Once he made clear in 1891 his commitment to Social Democracy—he had been moving in that direction for several years—he immediately devoted his energies to writing for party periodicals, and his talents were used extensively. His views on esthetics, though never ratified by a party congress, were frequently accepted in Germany and abroad as authoritative statements of Marxist socialism. Between 1892 and 1896 Mehring wrote short explanatory introductions for each play produced by the Freie Volksbühne. These were printed and distributed to the members in advance of the performances. Mehring designed them to give ideological edification as well as a resumé of the dramatic action.⁴²

The naturalists could find little in Mehring's words to raise their spirits. In his popular commentaries for the Freie Volksbühne and in other critical essays he drove even deeper the wedge between naturalism and socialism. Naturalism was performing a service, he conceded in a contribution of January 1893, by highlighting the foulness of contemporary society. But it had gone only halfway. If it went no further, it would contribute only to "the irresistible decay of art and literature," and one could denounce its followers as "decadent youth, exploiters of rot, and rumagers in ruins," the kind of people who "boast about syphilis to prove their manhood." That was strong language, and Mehring justified its use because he had found it in an essay by a naturalist. The fate of naturalism, he then concluded, depended upon whether it could "find the greater courage and the greater love of truth" not only to describe decaying bourgeois society but also to announce the society of the future, which was even then in process

⁴⁰ Bernstein, *Die Geschichte der Berliner Arbeiter-Bewegung*, 3: 395-96; Selo, *Die "freie Volksbühne" in Berlin*, 65-74. For the course of the Neue freie Volksbühne, see Conrad Schmidt, "Die freie Volksbühne in der Zeit ihres Alleinwirkens," in Bab, *Wesen und Weg der Berliner Volksbühnenbewegung*, 8-11.

⁴¹ Franz Mehring, *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie* (Bremen, 1877). This early anti-Social Democratic piece is not to be confused with Mehring's four volume *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie*, which appeared late in the 1890s.

⁴² Hans Koch, *Franz Mehring's Beitrag zur marxistischen Literaturtheorie* (East Berlin, 1959), 98-101. Mehring's critical introductions appeared as issues of *Die Volksbühne*, the early years of which I have been unable to use. Many of the Mehring essays are, however, reprinted in volume 11 of his *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Hans Koch (East Berlin, 1961).

of development.⁴³ Mehring doubted that the naturalists could find the correct path; their pessimism was too pervasive. A few years later in a critical essay he agreed with previous Social Democratic critics that pessimism could not be harmonized with the labor movement, for, in the tradition of every revolutionary class before it, "the modern proletariat has a deep optimistic strain."⁴⁴ The naturalists were indeed the literary expression of a bourgeois culture in decline. The modern socialist proletariat, Mehring argued consistently, had much more in common with the literature produced by the bourgeoisie in its revolutionary stage, with Schiller, Lessing, and Goethe. Mehring selected for performance by the Freie Volksbühne as many dramatic works from the classics as from modern writers. He also maintained that German workers preferred classical to modern literature, not because they harbored old-fashioned literary tastes but because they sensed a parallel between their revolutionary optimism and similar sentiments in the literature of the early bourgeois period.⁴⁵

Of all the naturalistic literature that Mehring at one time or another reviewed,⁴⁶ only Gerhart Hauptmann's "Weavers" passed the test of his socialist esthetic standards. In December 1893 Mehring wrote that "The Weavers" was "the only dramatic work of the present that stands on the ground of modern life and can claim a significance for the end of the nineteenth century comparable to Schiller's 'Robbers' for the end of the eighteenth century." In part he was obviously pleased that Hauptmann had made extensive use of the article on the weavers' uprising by Wilhelm Wolff, the same Wolff to whom Karl Marx dedicated volume 1 of *Capital*. But Mehring's praise was more deeply inspired. He genuinely believed that the "Weavers" should be valued as the "touchstone" for judging the "genuine" and the "false" in naturalism. Hauptmann had captured the historical reality of the masses in movement, and for that Mehring gave him full recognition.⁴⁷ But Hauptmann was the only naturalist who won such praise, and, indeed, Hauptmann won it only for the "Weavers."

One naturalist success could not alter the generally adverse judgment that Mehring and the other Social Democrats passed on naturalism. In addition to the rejection of naturalism as the pessimistic philosophy of a decadent bourgeois class in decline, there were other scattered reasons for the gap between naturalists and socialists. A number of young naturalists were caught up in the growing fascination with Friedrich Nietzsche's

⁴³ Franz Mehring, "Der heutige Naturalismus," *Die Volksbühne*, 1 (1892-93): no. 3, pp. 9-12, cited as reprinted in Mehring, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 11: 133.

⁴⁴ Mehring, "Kunst und Proletariat," *Die neue Zeit*, 15, pt. 1 (1896-97): 129-33, cited as reprinted in *ibid.*, 135.

⁴⁵ Mehring, "Naturalismus und proletarischer Klassenkampf," *Die neue Zeit*, 17, pt. 1 (1898-99): 637-40, cited as reprinted in *ibid.*, 221-25.

⁴⁶ Mehring's numerous commentaries on Arno Holz, Hermann Sudermann, Max Halbe, Otto Erich Hartleben, and other naturalists have also been reprinted in volume 11 of his *Gesammelte Schriften*.

⁴⁷ Mehring, "Hauptmanns 'Weber,'" *Die Volksbühne*, 2 (1893-94): no. 4, p. 3, cited as reprinted in Mehring, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 11: 563, 564-565.



Fig. 2. Photograph of a performance in 1894 of Gerhart Hauptmann's "Weavers." The scene is from the fifth and final act. Photograph courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz: Bildarchiv.



Fig. 3. A placard to announce a performance of Gerhart Hauptmann's "Weavers," probably from the late 1890s. The piece is by Emil Orlik (1870-1932), a graphic artist and painter who had some sympathy for progressive movements. Photograph courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz: Bildarchiv.



Fig. 4. "The March of the Weavers" (Weberzug), the fourth print in the graphic cycle "Uprising of the Weavers" (Weberaufstand) by Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945). The artist began to work on this cycle in 1893 immediately after attending the première of Hauptmann's "Weavers" sponsored by the theater society Freie Bühne in Berlin. This etching, however, was not completed until 1897. Throughout her life Käthe Kollwitz held socialist convictions and associated with the movement. Her older brother, Conrad Schmidt (1863–1932), was an active Social Democratic intellectual whose writings appeared in *Die neue Zeit* and other socialist publications. Photograph courtesy of Ferdinand Roten Galleries, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland.



Fig. 5. "Attack" (Sturm), the fifth print in the cycle "Uprising of the Weavers" by Käthe Kollwitz. This etching was completed in 1897. Photograph courtesy of Ferdinand Roten Galleries, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland.

thought, most of which could scarcely be harmonized with the principles of Social Democracy. When the leading spirit of the naturalist circle in Munich, Michael Georg Conrad, published a short autobiography it was replete with glorifications of Nietzsche. Johannes Schlaf remembered that by the mid-1880s Nietzsche's philosophy had already created dissension among his young literary companions. Hermann Conradi thought of himself as a follower of Nietzsche, whom he viewed as the complete Social Darwinist. The appeal of Nietzsche for some of the naturalists aroused Mehring's critical attention late in the 1890s. Distinguishing between three phases of Nietzsche's thought, Mehring viewed the last of these phases as an intellectual counterpart to the worst features of exploitive capitalism in the economic realm. The influence of the late Nietzsche on the naturalists was another indication of their incompatibility with socialism.⁴⁸ Mehring's cutting elucidations of modern literature made it evident that no member of the Social Democratic party could believe innocently that the naturalists, as a school, were the rightful literary spokesmen of the socialist movement. Neither in theory nor in practice would socialist leaders or publicists of the 1890s return the compliment paid them by the young naturalists in previous years.

AN IMPORTANT BUT CURIOUS episode remains to be recounted before the story is complete. The incident revolved around Edgar Steiger, a freelance literary scholar, a member of the Friedrichshagen circle, and a socialist by political conviction. In 1895 he was given the editorship of *Die neue Welt*, a kind of "Sunday supplement" distributed with the Saturday editions of many socialist newspapers. Since 1876, when it was founded, *Die neue Welt* had offered its readers a bland mixture of serialized novels, short stories, poems, and articles of special interest.⁴⁹ As the new editor, Steiger hoped to upgrade the quality of the paper, and he believed that including naturalist literature would contribute to that end. The choices he made were not particularly distinguished, and their unique features might never have come to the attention of most readers if Steiger had not also propagandized in other ways for naturalist art.⁵⁰ He still genuinely

⁴⁸ Michael Georg Conrad, *Von Emile Zola bis Gerhart Hauptmann: Erinnerungen zur Geschichte der Moderne* (Leipzig, 1902), *passim*; Johannes Schlaf, "Die freie Bühne und die Entstehung des naturalistischen Dramas," *Der Greif: Cottätsche Monatsschrift*, 1 (Mar. 1914): 484-85. Paul Ssymank, "Leben Hermann Conrads," in Hermann Conradi, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Paul Ssymank (Munich, 1911), 1: cxxvii; Mehring, "Friedrich Nietzsche," *Die neue Zeit*, 17, pt. 1 (1898-99): 569-76, cited as reprinted in Mehring, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 11: 219-21. There is a critical discussion of Mehring's evaluation of Nietzsche, stimulated in part by Lukacs's criticisms of Mehring, in Koch, *Franz Mehrings Beitrag zur marxistischer Literaturtheorie*, 111-15.

⁴⁹ See the article on *Die neue Welt* in *Lexikon sozialistischer deutscher Literatur von den Anfängen bis 1945* (Leipzig, 1964), 380-82.

⁵⁰ At the end of the 1880s Steiger published a long polemical essay on behalf of the modern tendencies in literature. *Der Kampf um die neue Dichtung: Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der zeitgenössischen deutschen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1889). A decade later he published a much larger work on recent literary history, *Das Werden des neuen Dramas* (Berlin, 1898).

believed that socialism and naturalism were intellectual twins and therefore thought that the Social Democrats should embrace naturalism as a quasi-official literary theory of the party. His advocacy of naturalism aroused the angry displeasure of a number of party leaders and journalists. In the columns of the *Hamburger Echo*, one of the party's respected newspapers, Steiger's views were attacked on several occasions, prompting him to publish answers in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. The charges against Steiger's editorial policy seemed so significant that the whole issue was placed on the agenda of the next party congress to meet in Gotha, October 11–16, 1896. Immediately before the congress opened Steiger published a brochure in which he summarized the arguments and sought to justify his views in advance of the anticipated debate. The theme of his pamphlet was that the worker needs a living art in which he "recognizes flesh of his flesh and spirit of his spirit." With missionary zeal he proclaimed, "Living art for the living! That is our solution."⁵¹ With that slogan on his lips he went to the party congress in the hope of persuading the delegates of the virtues of close cooperation between socialists and naturalists.

The Social Democrats had never before taken time to debate esthetic theory at a party congress, and after 1896 they did not repeat the venture. The debate in 1896 focused on the fact that Steiger had reprinted two naturalist novels, *Der neue Gott* by Hans Land, which party politicians incorrectly took to be a satire on the socialist movement, and *Mutter Bertha* by Wilhelm Hegeler, viewed by party puritans as a threat to socialist morals. One of the old reformist leaders of the party who imagined himself something of a literary figure, Karl Frohme, thundered: "It is indisputable that *Die neue Welt*, under the editorship of Steiger, has placed a vulgar sexuality in the foreground [and] that there are portrayals [in the paper] which are an insult to all sense of decency." Hegeler had described how at one point, in great discomfort, Mutter Bertha excused herself from her escort and behind some shrubbery relieved an unpleasant bladder pressure. "If naturalist art," Frohme continued, "believes that it can justify that kind of absolutely stinking *Schweinereien* in novels then simply everything will go." The debate, according to the printed proceedings, frequently aroused "great amusement [*Grosse Heiterkeit*]" among the assembled delegates. "If Frohme is . . . so sensitive," smirked a delegate from Iserlohn, "then he ought to propose that the statues on the Lustgarten Bridge in Berlin be outfitted with bathing suits." (And once again there was "*Grosse Heiterkeit*."⁵² Another speaker, Bruno Schönkank, tried to save poor Steiger by reminding the congress

⁵¹ Edgar Steiger, *Das arbeitende Volk und die Kunst: Kritische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1896), 8, 11. Steiger also gives details of the exchange that took place in the newspapers (see pp. 12–18). On the controversy involving Steiger, see also Münchow, "Naturalismus und Proletariat," 599–602, 608–17; Miller, "Critique littéraire de la Social-Démocratie Allemande," 60–63; and Guenther Roth, *The Social Democrats in Imperial Germany* (Totowa, N. J., 1963), 223–28.

⁵² *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands: Abgehalten zu Gotha vom 11. bis 16. Oktober 1896* (Berlin, 1896), 79, 93, 106.

that what is natural to man is not reprehensible. To illustrate the point, he noted that in a Brussels square there stood a "magnificent work of art"—the Maneken Piss—which narrow-minded philistines had once tried to remove to the cellar of the municipal museum. But it had survived, its esthetic value triumphant. Old Liebknecht would not be quieted by flip-pant comments. "Filthy dirt does not belong in *Die neue Welt*," he admonished, reminding his listeners that the paper was for all members of a family, children as well as adults. One of the young delegates, Richard Fischer, sought to be broad-minded by agreeing that what is natural is not reprehensible, but, he added, "one does not have oneself photographed in the bathroom."⁵³

Many of the old arguments against the naturalists were also voiced at the congress. August Bebel approached the problem from the point of view of what would be least disturbing to a large number of party members without at the same time rejecting naturalist literature for the prudish and philistine reasons given by Frohme. "I have often told him [Steiger] . . . not to move so stormily," Bebel reported to the congress, "but to reflect on the fact that in the party we have elements that take a most radical position on politics and economics, but that there are also people among us who, in matters of literature and art, are completely conservative (absolutely correct [from the audience]), who, because of their lack of contact with that form of intellectual pleasure, are accustomed to enjoyments that are light-years removed from the ideals of Steiger." Though Bebel, too, agreed that much in naturalist literature should not be given to children to read, he also admonished the delegates that a party that stood for reform in political, social, and economic affairs could not restrict itself to endorsing only traditional and established artistic styles and tastes.⁵⁴

The issue of pessimism also emerged in the debate. The arguments against a literature of pessimism made good sense to delegates familiar with the psychology of impoverished workers. "The worker," Hermann Molkenbuhr noted, "who must struggle against poverty, who in times of unemployment is already disposed to a certain mood of depression, is not able to enjoy art when misery is depicted repeatedly in the most blatant colors; on the contrary, in that way a kind of suicidal mood is engendered."⁵⁵ Others agreed, and no matter how insistently and adroitly he tried Steiger could not persuade the delegates of the appropriateness of his pro-naturalist policy.

One is not surprised that the episode of 1896 was the last confrontation of any note between naturalists and socialists. Only a few genuinely believed in the cause of both movements. By the middle of the 1890s the naturalist school itself was losing its dynamism of the previous decade,

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 96, 103, 105.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 109-10.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

though that was not evident to many contemporaries. Among the socialists the opposite was taking place. The movement was growing, feeling its strength, and as more favorable economic conditions became apparent around 1896 the trade unions, too, were expanding in membership. Evidence of advancing decay in the bourgeois society that they loathed might arouse a measure of malicious joy in Social Democrats, but the striking growth of their movement and the socialist picture of the future captivated their imaginations and invigorated their spirits. They wanted literature to be positive, not negative.

THE PROBLEM OF Social Democracy's relationship to intellectuals in Imperial Germany, raised at the beginning of this essay, can now be explored briefly within the context of the above account. The avowed sympathy of young naturalists for socialism appeared to offer Social Democrats a unique opportunity to draw upon a whole school of writers whose talents and reputations might be of immeasurable value to the labor movement. The opportunity would seldom be repeated; naturalists and socialists were sufficiently close in outlook to communicate, and that is more than the Social Democrats had in common with most other schools of thought in Germany at the time. Given their social and cultural isolation, it is all the more interesting that the socialists, encountering intellectuals who were friendly and wished to cooperate, were not more conciliatory.

The uncompromising response of the leaders of the Social Democratic party to naturalist overtures reflected both their sense of social isolation—which made many of them suspicious of nonparty intellectuals—and their confidence that the victory of their cause was fully predictable on the basis of Marxist theory. The latter belief meant that they never felt a pressing need for extensive assistance from those they called bourgeois intellectuals. The indifference toward intellectuals may appear arbitrary but it can be explained in terms of the Social Democratic interpretation of Marxism as a theory of historical determinism. The psychological assurance generated by the theoretical persuasiveness of Marxist theory meant that even an unlearned party functionary could assume that he understood as much as men of erudition and artistic creativity. Thus the naturalists as well as other intellectuals, no matter how much they might have professed comradeship, were not convincing to Social Democratic leaders until they met the ideological standards of the party.

Intellectuals and other Germans often held mistaken notions about the nature of the Social Democratic movement. The young naturalists are a case in point. They were surprised to discover after 1890 just how much they had underestimated the ideological differences separating them from socialists. Between 1878 and 1890, the era of heavy repression, socialists had been put in quarantine so that even sympathetic observers on

the outside could learn about the thought and action of the movement only with great difficulty. The memoirs and letters of the naturalists suggest that prior to 1890 they had not read many socialist texts; references to Marx, for example, are rare. Naturalists were genuine in their expressions of friendship for socialism, but only as they understood it. They were attracted by the similarities to their own outlook. However every similarity—theoretical, social, or political—between the two movements had its countervailing dissimilarity. If both were determinists, they did not necessarily believe that the same things were predetermined. If both were composed of big-city people, they did not live in the same sections of the city. If both imitated science, the one claimed to be a science, the other was still only art. And if both were related to the emergent consciousness of proletarians, the one eulogized the worker, the other only dissected him. Theory and doctrines were taken seriously in both movements, and the leaders in each would not compromise on points of disagreement in order to enlarge the realm of compatibility.

On the theoretical level socialists especially were prepared to enter combat against all nonparty intellectuals. In the contest with naturalism the socialists had a number of advantages. They approached drama and the arts from a fixed ideological frame of reference, a total socialist theory. By contrast the young naturalists had not bothered to evaluate socialism in terms of a theory. It is not clear that they could have done so, for their esthetic theory of naturalism was not applicable to such a task. In this sense the theoretical confrontation was not a match between equals. The less learned socialists had, in Marxism, a much stronger intellectual armament, and they assumed that the only proper way of introducing the social question into literature was according to the prescriptions of socialist thought. Marxist theory could be used by socialists like Mehring to tell the naturalists what kind of literature they ought to produce, but naturalist theory had nothing to say about how socialism should be fashioned. In the meeting of the two movements socialists could easily take the offensive, while the naturalists, in turn, found themselves in a weakened defensive position. This disadvantage was not peculiar to naturalists but pertained generally to writers and artists if they sought to cooperate with Social Democracy. For most writers and artists such prolonged ideological conflicts had little value, and once frustrated in their efforts to cooperate, they would drift away from the labor movement.

To ensure ideological stability within the movement, Social Democratic theoreticians could use Marxism, on the one hand, as a means to attract and absorb those few writers and artists who were willing to adapt their thinking to the party's basic principles and, on the other, to hold at a distance those who wanted to cooperate without also relinquishing their intellectual autonomy. The naturalists experienced the latter process when they tried to persuade Social Democratic leaders that literature

could be valuable to the labor movement without being explicitly socialist. When they charged that socialists wanted to subordinate literature to politics, the labor leaders happily accepted the accusation. They did indeed want literature to serve politics. For the sophisticated among them—the Franz Mehrings—that meant literature written in a spirit of positive social change; for the less sophisticated—the Liebknechts, Frohmes, and Bebels—it meant presenting the message explicitly. Naturalists had no intention of proclaiming a message according to strict socialist prescriptions. Socialists would make few concessions to writers for whose literary assistance they felt no urgent need. Given these conditions sustained cooperation was impossible, and insofar as these conditions were not unique to the relationship between naturalism and socialism they help to explain why so few intellectuals of independent stature affiliated with the Social Democratic party in Imperial Germany. Social Democratic theory provided little room for intellectual exploration outside its confines, and few intellectuals were content with the subordinate role demanded of them by the party.

Getting Hegel out of History: Max Eastman's Quarrel with Marxism

JOHN P. DIGGINS

Once catch well the knack of this scheme of thought
and you are lucky if you ever get away from it. It
is all you can see.

William James, "Hegel and His Method," 1909

THE LIFE OF Max Eastman offers one of the most remarkable careers in twentieth-century American intellectual history. During his rich and active literary years, he wrote over twenty books dealing with art, science, poetry, philosophy, humor, journalism, esthetics, anthropology, religion, capitalism, socialism, Soviet culture, German politics, Freudian psychology, and Marxism. He also composed five volumes of verse, a novel, two volumes of memoirs, a pioneering analysis of the young Trotsky's personality, and two collections of brilliant biographical portraits in which he brought to life an unlikely gallery of close friends and acquaintances: Eugene Debs and Albert Einstein, Carlo Tresca and Edna St. Vincent Millay, Ernest Hemingway and George Santayana, John Dewey and Sigmund Freud, Bertrand Russell and Charles Chaplin. In addition, he published the radical journals *The Masses* and *The Liberator* and later became, ironically, a "roving editor" for *Reader's Digest* and one of the first editorial advisers to William Buckley's conservative *National Review*. Moreover, after having mastered Russian in a little more than a year, he skillfully translated Pushkin as well as Trotsky's monumental three-volume *History of the Russian Revolution*, edited an abridged *Das Kapital* for the Modern Library, smuggled out of the Soviet Union a copy of Lenin's "Testament," and produced a historic documentary film on the Russian Revolution.¹

Eastman's reputation was as magnetic as his writings were prolific. Tall,

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¹ Eastman's collaboration with Trotsky, which occupies a good portion of his correspondence deposited in the Lilly Library, Indiana University, is a separate study in itself, and one that

lean, tanned, strikingly handsome with blond wavy hair and dark, pensive eyes, he was the best-known literary radical of the Greenwich Village generation. Between 1912 and 1923 he became one of the dominant figures in American cultural life. His career before World War I consisted in a sustained round of intellectual and political activism. While writing poetry, lecturing in philosophy at Columbia University, and editing the lively, sardonic *Masses*, he championed the cause of the anarcho-syndicalist Wobblies, became a leading spokesman for the radical feminist movement, and, together with his adored sister, Crystal, organized the American Union Against Militarism. During these joyous years Eastman emerged as the orphic bard of the Left, the eloquent lyricist of liberation. "When I was up at Columbia University," wrote publisher Lincoln Schuster two decades later,

one of the most unforgettable and most glamorous experiences I recall in my student life was the first lecture I heard by Max Eastman before the Socialist Study Club. He came before us then as the fair-haired apostle of the new poetry, the knight errant of a new and rebellious generation, the man who was making his dreams come true—as poet, as thinker, as editor, as teacher, as psychologist, as philosopher, as a yea-sayer of the joy and adventure of living in the fullest and richest sense of the word. Even then Max was already a glamorous, exciting figure in the world of letters and in the world of adventure. Life was bursting in all its radiance all around him. For him existence was a fight, a song, a revolution, a poem, an affirmation.

Max is a dazzlingly many-sided person, but his lust after the real, the intense, the beautiful enriches and colors his whole life, and his revolutionary ideology gives it direction and discipline. Thus an exuberant vitality courses through all his personal history—an uncompromising courage and passion for justice control it at every critical point. Whether life is a pageant or a predicament, a crisis or a contemplation, Max is always feeling and celebrating the qualities of things. The high spiritedness of youth and the deep thinking and clear seeing of radical teaching enabled him to integrate the qualities of the poet, the scientist, and man of action, and above all, the man who never betrays his sense of beauty or sense of humor.²

The very man who "looked Beauty and spoke Justice"³ to the Greenwich Village Left would become a heretic to the next generation of American radicals—the Old Left of the 1930s. For Eastman became the first

requires thorough knowledge of Russian and sensibility to the demands of literary art. In the estimate of critic F. W. Dupee, "Eastman's admirable translation has made *The History of the Russian Revolution* an English classic." (Leon Trotsky, *The Russian Revolution*, ed. F. W. Dupee [Garden City, N.Y., 1959], viii.) Eastman also translated Trotsky's *The Real Situation in Russia*, *The Revolution Betrayed*, and, most significantly, *The Young Lenin*, which has just been published by Doubleday. Trotsky's important biography of Lenin was started in 1933, but both his uncompleted manuscript and Eastman's unfinished translation mysteriously disappeared for thirty years, only to turn up in Harvard's Houghton Library a short time before Eastman's death in 1969. Whether the Trotsky-Eastman manuscript was accidentally lost or deliberately suppressed for the duration of Stalinism, as Eastman suspected, is unclear. The library had no record of how it was acquired. The author would appreciate hearing from anyone with information regarding this matter.

² Max Schuster to Victor Gollancz, May 13, 1936, Eastman Papers, Lilly Library, Indiana University.

³ Joseph Freeman, *An American Testament* (New York, 1936), 103.

major American writer to subject Marxism to a penetrating philosophical and psychological critique by bringing Freud's insights to bear upon the Marxist concept of ideology. Indeed, he was perhaps the first writer in the Western world to draw a critical distinction between the ideas of Marx and the actions of Lenin in order to make a case for the October Revolution that would infuriate both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. He was also one of the first literary intellectuals to expose the suppression of cultural freedom under Stalin, and one of the first radical partisans of Lenin and Trotsky to renounce the whole Soviet experiment. This paper focuses primarily on Eastman's critique of Marxism as a philosophical system, for many of the issues raised in his analysis remain worthy of attention after a half century of debate and revisionism. While most contemporary Marxists concede the terrors of the Stalin regime, few concede the limitations of Marxism as a philosophy of history. Indeed, thanks to the revival of Hegel and the recent attention devoted to the writings of the Frankfurt school, philosophic Marxism is more alive today than it has been since the 1930s. The revival of Hegelian Marxism makes Eastman's reflections more relevant than ever.

MAX EASTMAN's radicalism sprouted from native soil. Before he had become a convert to Marxian socialism in 1912, he had already taken his stand on the Left as a staunch agnostic, a severe critic of nationalism and militarism, and a witty castigator of class distinctions. His early intellectual heroes included Mark Twain, whom he had known as a youth in Elmira, New York; Walt Whitman, the democratic poet of "communion" and "amativeness"; and Thorstein Veblen, whose *Theory of the Leisure Class* offered him both a critique of orthodox economics and a justification for his assault upon respectability. Despite his commitment to Veblen's cool, controlled rationalism as well as John Dewey's scientific methodology, Eastman was imbued with a religious idealism inherited from his "heroic" mother and "saintly" father, both ordained Congregational ministers. Their "Christian ideal," he later reflected, "demands that life itself, as we live it, be transcended and superseded and changed. It is a utopian ideal, and ethically, at least, revolutionary." The generational transfusion of idealism came particularly from his mother, whom Eastman always looked back upon as his "first great companion." As a freshman at Oberlin College, Annis Ford Eastman had written a theme that proposed "the theory that God himself is joy—a vast stream of joy surrounding all of us." His mother impressed upon him the idea that life should be lived intensely as a continuous adventure in self-realization and social responsibility. "She believed that the essential secret of the joyous life, no matter where you start from, is to be ever in a state of growth."⁴

⁴ Max Eastman, *Enjoyment of Living* (New York, 1948), 23, 236, 293; *Heroes I Have Known* (New York, 1942), 104-42; *Great Companions: Critical Memoirs of Some Famous Friends* (New York, 1959), 299-312.

A basic tension resides in Eastman's early intellectual development—a tension he believed Marxism would resolve. Eastman's idealistic thirst for a "vast stream of joy" found an outlet in poetry, in the subjective realm of emotion, mystery, imagination, love, beauty, moral vision, and freedom. At the same time his agnostic revolt against religion found an outlet in science, in the objective world of fact and experience, in the verifiable processes of natural causation, and in logical analysis and empirical explanation. Eastman was aware of the dichotomy. Poetic man, he pointed out in 1913, is interested in describing the immediate qualities of things and receiving and realizing experience for the sake of experience, not as a means to an end, but as a "lust after the intense," not to learn about the world, but "to taste the flavor of its being." Scientific man, on the other hand, substitutes appreciation for achievement; his desire is to alter, manipulate, and control the environment with little comprehension of what is being transformed and even less capacity for enjoying what has been made. Nevertheless, Eastman originally hoped—as would Dewey—that the poetic and practical impulses within man could be reconciled, that creative vision and social action could be made compatible. For poetry is also "instrumental" knowledge since it "affects that significant imagery" in our mind and thereby renders abstract ideas concrete. And in life, if not in art, "the realization of ideas is part of the adventure of being."⁵

Thus before he had fully studied the subject, Marxism appealed to Eastman's two contradictory impulses—his poetic idealism and his scientific realism, his yearning for the imaginative world of the possible beyond the actual, and his dispassionate respect for the actual world of fact and experience. "It was this clash of impetuositities, the thirst of extreme ideals and argumentative clinging to facts, which led me to seize so joyfully upon Marx's idea of progress through working class struggle." As a philosophical proposition, Marxism seemed the solution to the eternal dualism between fact and value, science and morality, empiricism and esthetics. Moreover, Marxism appeared to have answered one of the greatest problems in social philosophy: how to attain a perfect society with imperfect human beings. Eastman recalled Mark Twain's answer when the novelist was asked what he thought about socialism: "I can't even hope for it. I know too much about human nature." Marxism offered an answer to Twain's and Eastman's dilemma. While acknowledging the limitations of historic man, it fulfilled contemporary man's "need to line up fiercely with the ideal against the real." Instead of trying to change human nature, Marx took humankind "as it is" and used the class struggle as a "driving force" to abolish the conditions that made human nature "work badly." A philosophy that turned paradoxes into truisms, Marxism resolved both the classical dualisms in epistemology and the existential antinomies in social reality. Psychologically, Marxism gave Eastman what poetry gave Yeats: the ability to hold together justice and

⁵ Max Eastman, *Enjoyment of Poetry* (New York, 1913), 3-19, 136-53.

truth within a single thought. "Here was a method," Eastman exclaimed, "of attaining the ideal based upon the very facts that made it seem unattainable. I need no longer extinguish my dreams with my knowledge. I need never again cry out: 'I wish I believed in the Son of God and his second coming.'" Far from exalting in his "conversion," however, Eastman preferred to call his new-found creed a "hard-headed idealism" that accepted Marx's philosophy simply as a "matter of fact interpretation of history."⁶

Torn between reality and desire, between his skeptical knowledge of human limitations and his will to believe in the possibility of transcendence, Eastman saw in Marxism a system of ideas that enabled man to transform the real into the ideal and a program of action that furnished the means of overcoming the contradictions of class society. So inspired, he went on to become one of America's most eloquent spokesmen for the Bolshevik Revolution. Unlike other Village radicals such as John Reed and Emma Goldman, Eastman was not troubled by Lenin's reversal of trade-union policy, the Comintern's twenty-one "demands," and the ill-fated Kronstadt uprising. The sharp twists and turns in Bolshevik policy merely demonstrated to Eastman the superiority of Lenin's intellect—"that of astute, flexible, undoctinaire, unbigoted, supremely purposive, and I judged experimental, intelligence."⁷ In Eastman's panegyrics Lenin emerged as the "free-minded engineer of revolution," the man of action as well as ideas, the revolutionary who alone had the nerve to impose will upon reality and to seize history with both hands. In 1918, when the Bolshevik leader lay stricken by an assassin's bullet, Eastman published a poem in praise of Lenin's steadiness of will and fluidity of mind:

Men that have stood like mountains in the flood
Of change that runs like ruin through the earth,
When murder takes the sanctity of birth,
When food is fire and harvest-treasure blood,
Men that like fixed eternal stars have stood,
Their faith clear-shining sadly, and their mind
Unmaddened by the madness of their kind—
They were the godlike, they the great and good.
With light, and mountain steadiness, and power,
And faith like theirs in this all-fluid hour,
You to the dreadful depth of change descend,
And with its motions moving it, you blend
Your conquering purpose as blue rivers roll
Through all the ocean's waters toward the pole.⁸

Four years later Eastman visited the Soviet Union. At first he was impressed by the triumphs of the Red Army and by the energy and health

⁶ Max Eastman, *Love and Revolution: My Journey Through an Epoch* (New York, 1964), 14-16; *Enjoyment of Living*, 355.

⁷ Eastman, *Love and Revolution*, 127.

⁸ *The Liberator*, 1 (Nov. 1918): 17.

of the Russian people. Bolshevik leaders gracefully received him, and Trotsky befriended him as an intellectual comrade. But while Eastman toured the countryside and studied Russian in the Marx-Engels Institute Library, Stalin began to launch the campaign against Trotsky. Even though Eastman attended the 1923 Party Congress, he was unaware of the struggle for power behind the scenes. Then the *danse macabre* unfolded with Lenin's death in January 1924. As the party *apparatchiks* began to move against the anti-Stalinist opposition, Trotsky advised Eastman to leave the country with documents that would expose Russia's internal struggle for power. Those documents included important extracts from what later came to be known as Lenin's last "Testament," in which the premier, dictating to his wife from his deathbed, called for Stalin's removal from the post of general secretary. Eastman had the documents published shortly after he arrived in London in late 1924. He now started his long and lonely campaign to promote Trotsky, "the most universally gifted man in the world today," as the Bolshevik whose "superior moral and intellectual revolutionary greatness" made him Lenin's legitimate successor. The following year he moved to France and began working in the Bibliothèque Nationale on a book that, as a defense of Bolshevism, would shock the communist world.⁹

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT in which Eastman was investigating the intellectual origins of Marxism was a critical period for the future of Marxist philosophy. In the early 1920s the Comintern embarked upon the task of "bolshevizing" national communist parties, an effort that led Soviet officials to lay claim to the whole corpus of Marxism as interpreted by the Russians Plekhanov and Lenin. By and large the Soviet school of thought consisted in the scientific codification of Marx's ideas worked out by Engels after his mentor's death. This version, which also pervaded much of Western socialist thought before World War I, had been prevalent among many Bolshevik party members before the Revolution. After 1921, when older professors of philosophy had been removed from Russian universities, official Soviet Marxism amounted to what Gustav Wetter has aptly called a "crude" and "vulgar materialism."¹⁰

Three important European communist philosophers reacted to the petrification of Marxism: the Italian Antonio Gramsci, the Hungarian Georg Lukacs, and the German Karl Korsch. All three desired to re-humanize Marxism by returning to its classical heritage. Lukacs and Korsch especially sought to recapture the Hegelian dimension of Marx's

⁹ Eastman, *Love and Revolution*, 350–56; *Since Lenin Died* (New York, 1925); *Leon Trotsky: The Portrait of a Youth* (New York, 1925), v; "Lenin's Testament," Dec. 25, 1922, "Supplement," Jan. 4, 1923, Eastman Papers. Scholars of such diverse political views as Leonard Schapiro and Isaac Deutscher have praised Eastman's *Since Lenin Died* for its prescience. See Leonard Schapiro, *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (New York, 1960), 280, 296, 306; Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Unarmed: Trotsky: 1921–1929*, 2 (Vintage ed.; New York, 1965): 201–02.

¹⁰ Gustav A. Wetter, *Dialectical Materialism: A Historical and Systematic Survey of Philosophy in the Soviet Union*, tr. Peter Heath (New York, 1958), 128–29.

thought. The “dialectical conception of totality,” Lukacs announced in 1923, would end the debate over materialism and idealism by reunifying subject and object and synthesizing theory and practice in the transforming power of the proletariat, whose universal class consciousness manifested the character of an idea realized as material force. Invoking a similar imperative, Korsch called upon philosophers to grasp the “essential and necessary relation between German philosophy and Marxism.” Only when the true function of the dialectic is properly conceived will Marxism remain a permanent revolutionary approach to history and reality. For a Marxism without Hegel can easily lose its power of negation, just as a Hegelianism without Marx lost its power of realization. To reunite the two systems of thought was the role of the revolutionary philosopher. “If we do this,” Korsch advised, “we can see at once not only the interrelations between German idealist philosophy and Marxism, but also their internal necessity.”¹¹

Eastman was unaware of the writings of Lukacs and Korsch. But it is a revealing irony in comparative intellectual history that the first American to grasp the connection between Hegel and Marx went on, not to reaffirm it, but to repudiate it. Eastman’s *Marx and Lenin: The Science of Revolution* (1926) is an unusual specimen in the vast historiography of Marxism. Unlike many other authors, Eastman did not plunge into traditional issues that made Marxism so controversial in the disciplines of economics, sociology, and political science—namely, the labor theory of value, the principle of class struggle, and the Marxist theory of the state. Similarly, he did not indict Marxism for offering a false science of “prophecy,” as would the antihistoricist scholars during World War II. Nor did he maintain, as would many American liberals in the late 1930s, that the failure of the Soviet Union to realize the ideals of Karl Marx disproved the ideas of Marxism. Although he would come to regard Stalinism as further proof of the fallacies of Marxism, Eastman’s original critique was philosophical rather than political. Essentially it revolved around two simple but embarrassing epistemological questions: how did Marx come to know what he knew, and how do we know that it is true?

Appropriately, the book opens with a chapter on the function of thought. Drawing upon Darwin and Freud, Eastman explained how discoveries in biology and psychology changed man’s conception both of the world and of himself. By illuminating the naturalistic foundations of human behavior, these genetic sciences demonstrated that mind functioned as an instrument governing either the conscious interests or the unconscious desires of man. The “instrumental interpretation of consciousness” denied that mind could free itself from the natural drives that motivate it in

¹¹ Georg Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics* (1923), tr. Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge, 1970), 10, *passim*; Karl Korsch, *Marxism and Philosophy* (1923), tr. Fred Halliday (New York, 1970), 44–45.

order to comprehend an immaterial “spirit” that allegedly inspires it. “Not only the prior thing in the world is matter and not mind,” observed Eastman, “but the prior thing in mind is impulse and not reason.”¹²

Eastman recognized that Marx, in the “Theses on Feuerbach,” had developed a functional view of intelligence that resembled the modern pragmatic mode of knowledge. But the “internal necessity” between Marxism and German idealism hailed by Korsch and Lukacs seemed to Eastman an internal fallacy. What separated Marx from Hegel were two different ontologies regarding the role of mind. Whereas Marx located consciousness in “practical-critical action,” Hegel believed that the nature of consciousness was to be “discovered by examining the relation between categories of pure logic.” For Marx, that is, truth was made in action and praxis; for Hegel “absolute knowledge” was noninstrumental, something found in thinking about thinking, knowledge knowing itself. According to Eastman, Marx passed over this crucial distinction when he found himself at an impasse with Feuerbach’s materialism, a doctrine that could show Marx and Engels that matter is more fundamental than spirit but could not tell them where matter “is going.” Driven by the need to find purpose in the material universe, Marx and Engels thus returned to Hegel and found in the principle of the dialectic the meaning and direction of history.¹³

Discussing the Marxist interpretation of history, Eastman illuminated the way in which Marx had retained the central Hegelian principles of historical understanding: that history is a “process” unfolding irrespective of the interests of the historian; that the process has “some one cause” that explains “all” and that does not necessarily derive from the conscious purposes of men; and that “this cause has the property of being logical in development, and of advancing by contradiction, and by the negation of negation.” These Hegelian principles played havoc with Marx’s language of historical description, and Eastman proceeded to subject that language to the test of causal analysis. He found, for example, the alleged “logical contradiction” between “productive forces” and “production relations” to be a species of “speculative logic” that allowed Marx to confuse the terms “contradiction,” “conflict,” and “rebellion.” Similarly, he criticized Marx for interchanging the verbs “condition” and “cause,” for mixing the two distinct ideas of “reflection” and “result” when discussing culture and the superstructure, and for absorbing contingency into necessity by insisting that historical accidents are “compensated by other accidents.” Eastman was aware, to be sure, of the qualifications expressed by Marx, Engels, and Trotsky regarding unilateral determinism, but he was equally aware that no Marxist, not even Plekhanov, had developed precise canons of inquiry that would help analyze the degrees of determinism in order to do justice to the complexity of historical events.¹⁴

¹² Max Eastman, *Marx and Lenin: The Science of Revolution* (New York, 1927), 13–18, 31.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 19–31.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 47–64.

Any sensibility to the variety of historical phenomena was precluded by Hegel's dictum to "penetrate the unity" of all phenomena. To Eastman the quest for unity and totality not only did violence to the rich diversity and particularity of human experience, it also identified the historian with history itself. Hence he sought to demonstrate the essential dualism between the historian as subject and history as object. Whatever may be the ultimate nature of history, it is the historian who brings to it the questions and problems at hand. With Hegelian Marxism, however, this distinction collapses. Hegel's "subject-object identity" led to the doctrine of historical necessity, wherein causal explanations become shrouded under the bloodless abstraction of an "inner logic." The practical upshot is that Hegel's disembodied philosophy of history precluded bold action as well as precise explanation. To Eastman it was man, not "logic," who made events happen; it was human intelligence, not "Absolute Mind," that must interpret experience; and it was Karl Marx, not "history," who was determined to produce a social revolution. Thus there remained only one way to salvage Marxism from the errors of Menshevism and to "escape the bonds of German idealism" as well: "That is to take the revolutionary motive out of 'history,' where Marx and Engels surreptitiously projected it, and locate it in the human breast where it belongs."¹⁵

What prevented Marxists from doing this was their belief in dialectical materialism. Eastman simply could not accept the dialectic as a "universal law of motion" either in human thought or in the material universe. He rejected, as a procedure of knowing, "the whole myth about negating negations, and seeking in everything for its opposite, and never resting in an affirmative statement, and studying everything in its logical self-movement, its inner-hostility against itself, and remembering that things can be both themselves and their opposites, and that cause and effect merge into each other, and that quantity becomes quality, and that nature makes jumps—this whole mixture of scientific commonplace with Hegelian higher-logical buncombe." All this represented to Eastman a form of "animistic thinking," an exercise in which Marx projected his own "desires" onto external reality, read into the unconscious material world the unfolding "spirit" of German idealism, and thus found in Hegel a philosophy of the universe in which he already believed. Eastman realized that Engels was guiltier than Marx in attributing human qualities to the properties of matter. Thus Engels's attempt to take Hegel's definition of freedom as "*necessity become conscious*" and apply it to the "laws of nature" showed "either a naive innocence of the problem he is talking about, or that Hegelian sophistication which is a mockery of innocence." Still, Marx as well as Engels accepted Hegelianism in much the same way as man accepts "religion" as a means of reconciling himself to a universe in which he finds himself alienated. In essence, Hegelianism answered a psychological need. It enabled

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 62.

Marx and Engels to “rationalize their aspirations” by “co-operating” with a world view in which both consciousness (“self-change”) and conditions (“changes of circumstances”) are moving dialectically in a “congenial direction,” ascending “from the lower to the higher” (Engels’s words); a world view in which “true thought and the material world are doing the same thing, and doing it together.”¹⁶

When Eastman accused Marx and Engels of “projecting” and “rationalizing” their own desires, he was engaging in a most audacious critique. At the turn of the century Benedetto Croce had also criticized the metaphysical deification of historical materialism. But Eastman, independent of Croce in particular and of European philosophy in general, was broaching an attack that was being articulated at the same time in Germany by the Hungarian sociologist Karl Mannheim—Marxism itself may be regarded as an “ideology” subject to a sociopsychological analysis of the derivation of its meaning.¹⁷ Marx was hardly exempt from ideological thinking, Eastman boldly argued, for his mind, too, was influenced by a cultural matrix that prevented him from seeing the genesis of his own ideas. Hence he could scorn the very human ideals that motivated him—“morality and justice”—only because he confided their realization to the material forces of history in the unconscious process of rendering the external world obedient to his moral wish. Similarly, Marx’s “immanent laws” of capitalist production, which supposedly brought centralization and class conflict, seemed to Eastman like a reification of the “iron laws” of classical economics, which supposedly brought competition and social harmony. To Marx’s declaration that capitalism “creates with the necessity of a natural process the negation of itself,” Eastman simply asked: “Is it not quite obvious that it is not Marx’s knowledge, but his purposes, that is being expressed?”¹⁸ To read purpose into history, to perceive a dialectic of negation whose essence is not disclosed by empirical perception but instead by philosophical reflection, was to Eastman the very “false consciousness” of ideology that must be challenged by the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 32–46, 112. The charge of “animism,” of reading into matter the attributes of human values, is similar to the “pathetic fallacy” of some nineteenth-century romantic writers, who carried over to inanimate objects the emotions of human beings and thereby made nature sympathize with their own feelings. Eastman would allow the poet such license (and he tolerated it in George Santayana), but not the Marxist, who calls his philosophy “science” in the British and Latin sense of the concept, as opposed to the German *Wissenschaft*. For Eastman’s discussions of poetry and science, see *ibid.*, 182–85.

¹⁷ Two years after Eastman’s book appeared, Mannheim observed: “It is no longer the exclusive privilege of socialist thinkers to trace bourgeois thought to ideological foundations and thereby discredit it. Nowadays groups of every standpoint use this weapon against all the rest. As a result we are entering upon a new epoch in social and intellectual development.” Noting that Max Weber, Werner Sombart, and Ernst Troeltsch had begun to move in this direction, Mannheim added: “The analysis of thought and ideas in terms of ideologies is much too important a weapon to become the permanent monopoly of any one party. Nothing was to prevent the opponents of Marxism from availing themselves of the weapon and applying it to Marxism itself.” *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (Harvard ed.; New York, n.d.), 75.

¹⁸ Eastman, *Marx and Lenin*, 86–88, 97–105.

true knowledge of science.¹⁹ Significantly, he believed the new psychology of Freud would aid in this effort, and he attempted to relate Freud's analysis of personality to Marx's analysis of society.²⁰ Marx himself had begun this effort at developing a "science" of human behavior, Eastman pointed out, and the "essence of Marx's historical wisdom," and "one of the deepest and wisest intuitions in the history of genius," was Marx's own critique of ideology as the distortion and falsification of conscious thought by society and culture. In the spirit of Freud and natural science, Eastman thus reminded contemporary Marxists of the young Marx's own courageous defiance of man's need for myths and ultimate spiritual meaning:

The abolition of religion, the illusory happiness of people, is a demand for their real happiness. The demand that one reject illusions about one's situation, is a demand that one reject a situation which has need of illusions.

In effect, the American agnostic asked Marxists to abolish their own religion, to discard Hegel and reject the opium of a "theology" that will overcome alienation, and thus to accept a world without myths, a history without redemption, and a philosophy that has no need of illusions:

That rejection of illusions—religious, moralistic, legal, political, aesthetic—is the immortal essence of Marx's contribution to the science of history, and to history itself. And if he did not succeed in rejecting also the illusions of philosophy, those who really esteem his life and his genius ought to carry out that process. Marx himself declared that philosophy, like law and politics and religion and art, is subject to an economic interpretation at the hands of science. But he also declared—and within a year of the same date—that Hegel wrote the true history of philosophy. Since Hegel's history of philosophy is a history of 'the self-developing reason,' a 'history of thought finding itself,' these two statements are directly contradictory, and we have to choose between them. We have to choose between Marxism as a Hegelian philosophy, and Marxism as a science which is capable of explaining such a philosophy.²¹

The one true revolutionary who chose "scientific" Marxism was Vladimir Ilich Lenin. It was the great Bolshevik leader, Eastman argued in the second part of his book, who rescued history from the false consolations of Hegel. Lenin's call for a "vanguard" of professional revolutionaries indicated that he did not regard revolution as the inevitable outcome of the laws of history

¹⁹ "It is impossible, once you have defined ideology as thinking which is unconscious of its motives, to let Marxism continue to hide its motives in an animistic philosophy of the universe. Marxism as a system of dialectical metaphysics is ideological, just as all metaphysics is, but it is certainly the tendency and true end of Marxism to become a science." *Ibid.*, 88.

²⁰ Eastman feared that unless Marxists assimilated Freudianism, reactionaries would use it for their own purposes. When the French communist Charles Rappoport critically reviewed his book, Eastman responded: "Have you really got nothing to say about the problem of the relation between Marxism and modern psychology? Have you read Hendrik De Man's *counter-revolutionary* revision of Marxism on the basis of modern psychology? Do you really know what is going on in the intellectual world?" Eastman to "Dear Comrade Holy Father," Dec. (n.d.), 1926, Eastman Papers.

²¹ Eastman, *Marx and Lenin*, 46.

and the spontaneous struggle of the working class. Lenin also displayed great insight when he defined the Bolshevik party in psychological rather than in class terms, choosing for his cadre those who possessed “purposive ideas” and an appropriate revolutionary “state of mind.” Thus Lenin’s *What To Do*²² denied the “assertion that the material elements of the world are automatically evolving toward socialism, and [the] assertion that the thoughts of socialists are a mere reflection of the process.” The year 1917 dramatized both these truths, for Lenin demonstrated that the nature of political organization, and not the stage of economic or social development, was the decisive factor in revolution. Hence Lenin’s grasp of the autonomy of politics, his “policy of sharp turns,” showed that the October Revolution was a “violation of Hegelian-Marxism.” Moreover, Lenin’s effort to build socialism through the very political superstructure he created indicated that bolshevism did not evolve from the “ripening” of the “contradictions” of capitalism. “No person,” stated Eastman as though he were replying to Lukacs, “could possibly declare that the political forms existing in Russia, and the ideas propagated by the Communist party, are a reflection of existing economic conditions. Never did a reflection put forth such gigantic efforts to produce its likeness in the object reflected.”²³

Eastman was fully aware that Lenin “recommended—but never began—‘a systematic study of the Hegelian dialectic from the materialist point of view.’” But Lenin believed in “dialectical thinking” without defining it operationally so as to constrict his own experimental approach to knowledge. He learned from Hegel that “truth is always concrete” and from Marx that praxis is the criterion of knowledge and that “maximum of flexibility” is called for in “revolutionary moments.” Thus in his philosophical writings Lenin could believe that mind “reflects” the “ordered movement of matter”; in his political actions, however, he behaved in a way that gave mind a “dynamic function” enabling him to interact with and act upon the movement of history.²⁴ Eastman did not accuse Lenin of inconsistency, for the Bolshevik leader rightly regarded philosophy as a “weapon of ‘party struggle.’” Nor did Lenin’s awareness that the “revolutionary will” resided in the revolutionist result in the arrogance of power. On the contrary, such understanding led to “an unusual moral responsibility.” Here Eastman was not resorting to the precepts of religious or Kantian morality; nor was he proposing

²² Eastman insisted that this title, and not *What Is To Be Done*, was the true English equivalent to the heading of Lenin’s 1902 organizational manifesto.

²³ Eastman, *Marx and Lenin*, 141, 149–63. In direct contrast to Eastman, Lukacs insisted that the Leninist distinction between the “subjective factor” of historical awareness (the party) and its object (the masses) could be reconciled by the proletariat, whose revolutionary activity not only “reflects” the processes of history but “transforms” them. Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness*, 1–26, 46–82, *passim*. For a critical analysis of Lukacs, see Morris Watnick, “Relativism and Class Consciousness: Georg Lukacs,” in Leopold Labedz, ed., *Revisionism: Essays on the History of Marxist Ideas* (New York, 1962), 142–65; and George Lichtheim, *Georg Lukacs* (New York, 1970).

²⁴ Eastman’s book was written before the publication of Lenin’s *Philosophical Notebooks* in 1929, a source he used in his subsequent critiques.

a return to the revisionist belief in ethical socialism, a proposition of Eduard Bernstein's that Eastman dismissed as "absurd." Rather, he was suggesting that the revolutionist must be existentially aware that there is no escape from political morality by invoking the laws of history. "Whenever the word 'ought' has meaning, it will be affirmed that such a man ought to know his own motives, and be honest with those whom he leads." Lenin possessed this critical self-awareness when he demanded that the professional revolutionist be (in Lenin's words) "devoted," "heroic," "self-sacrificing," and "honest." Whereas Hegel relegated ultimate ethical issues to absolute "reason" and Marx to the end of "pre-history," Eastman saw in Leninism the possibility of restoring political responsibility to the mind and will of man. "There is no element in the Bolshevik tactics of Lenin more vitally important than the transparent purity of his motives, and his perfect intellectual honesty before the proletariat."²⁵ With Leninism, then, the imperative of revolutionary praxis is liberated from the deceptions of metaphysics; the true humanization of Marxism has begun.

WHEN EASTMAN'S BOOK appeared in the United States in 1927, he had already been pretty well ostracized by the Communist Left. Party leader William Z. Foster had remarked two years earlier that Eastman had "killed himself" in the Movement by his treatment of the Trotsky question"; and Mike Gold, soon to become editor of the *New Masses*, advised V. F. Calverton that Eastman, despite his "fine mind," was "a thorough bourgeoisies [*sic*] in esthetics" who preferred the "Platonic" way of life. Distrusted by party officials and disliked by self-appointed literary theoreticians, Eastman was dismissed as an amateur philosopher whose effort to assimilate Freud and Marx and expunge Hegel could not be taken seriously.²⁶

Liberal intellectuals, although impressed by Eastman's lively style and anti-Hegelian witticisms, had serious reservations about the book. Eastman's celebration of Bolshevism disturbed the *Nation* reviewer, Henry Raymond Mussey, who noted that the exaltation of "will" was also characteristic of right-wing movements. Searching for an ethical position, T. V. Smith shrewdly pointed out that Eastman had inadvertently denied Lenin the right to make a revolution, since the only Marxist justification for revolution was the presumption of its inevitability. On a similar note, the philosopher Horace Kallen warned Eastman that Leninism itself could become a "religion" of empirical power worship. In your "eagerness to escape the hypostasis of Hegelian dialectics," Kallen told Eastman, you are in "danger of hypostasizing organizing leadership as 'scientific.'" ²⁷

²⁵ Eastman, *Marx and Lenin*, 28, 106-17, 150-74, 186-88, 191.

²⁶ Foster to Calverton, Sept. 8, 1925; Mike Gold to Calverton, May 4, 1925, Calverton Papers, New York Public Library; Bertram D. Wolfe, "Eastman Revises Marx," *The Communist*, 6 (1927): 403-12.

²⁷ The Mussey review is in the *Nation*, Aug. 15, 1928, pp. 159-60; the Smith review is in the *International Journal of Ethics*, 38 (1928): 480-82; Kallen to Eastman, Apr. 7, 1927, Eastman Papers.

Eastman had copies of *Marx and Lenin* sent to leading European intellectuals, and he received warm, polite praise from George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, and Sigmund Freud. Continental Marxists who read the book (it was translated into French and Spanish) tended to respond, not surprisingly, according to their views of Freudian psychology on the one hand and Hegelian philosophy on the other. A Swedish writer hailed the work as the start of a "Copernican revolution" in making Marxism a science and in "laying the psychological basis of Marxian sociology." A young student at the Frankfurt am Main Institut für Sozialforschung, while doubting that Eastman's scientific attitude could sustain a revolutionary temperament, nonetheless welcomed the book as a relief from the tedious, abstract "fetishism" of metaphysical Marxism.²⁸ The more seasoned communist thinkers, however, saw concealed in the bud of Eastman's argument the worm of revisionism. Charles Rappoport, a founder of the French Communist party, attacked the American "sophist" for failing to see that a Hegelian philosophy that replaced the "immobilismo" of "Being for the eternal youth of Becoming, is eminently revolutionary." Georg Lukacs, the Hungarian philosopher who two years earlier had tried to reconcile Lenin and Marx, claimed Eastman was attempting to provide a theoretical platform for the "international Trotskyist" movement based upon "Anglo-American empiricist nonsense." With pompous sarcasm, Lukacs termed Eastman's description of the "primitive animism" of dialectics a "grand and indubitably original conclusion," and he felt it necessary to "renounce categorically" Eastman's psychological "additions" to Marxism as completely as the "contributions" of Max Adler. Unfortunately, the most learned Hegelian Marxist of the period never came to grips with Eastman's argument. Lukacs described Eastman's critique of dialectical materialism as a reflection of the "skepticism" that inflicts the "socially rootless, *declassé*" intellectual with corrosive doubt, yet he himself

²⁸ Eastman, *Love and Revolution*, 461; J. M. Keynes to Eastman, Dec. 22, 1926; Lëif Björk to Eastman, July 12, 1926; and Oscar Swede to Eastman, Oct. 1, 1927, Eastman Papers. Professor Martin Jay, author of *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute for Social Research, 1923-1950* (Boston, 1973), informs me that Swede's letter "captures perfectly" the mood of the Institute for Social Research in its early years. "All this is the more gratifying to one," Swede told Eastman, "who has spent hours of exasperating argument in a Marxist Institute with a younger generation setting down to an orthodox religion and the worship of an iconographical literature, not to mention blackboards full of mathematical juggling with blocks of 1000 k ± 400 w of Marx's divisions of capital's functions, and the like. God! the hours I've spent listening to the debate of seminars and student circles on the Hegelian dialektik, with not a single voice to point out that the problems can no longer be solved (if they ever were) by means of straw splitting philosophical conceptions. Even the leader, faced with an audience of enthusiastic youth convinced that Relativity is a further installment of bourgeois ideology substituting fluctuating ideas for Newton's absolute materialism, that Freudianism and Bergsonism are insidious attacks from the rear, and that the war can be waged with the sword in one hand and the 'Geschichte der Historiko-materialismus' in the other . . . is constantly being brought up against the inherent contradictions in a Marxist M.I.H. and being forced to devise defenses against the logical conclusion that we may sit with our arms folded and wait for the millennium to blossom from the dung of capitalist decay." Swede told Eastman he had mentioned his book to a colleague at the Institute, who replied, "Ah, yes. Just a journalist!"

remained skeptical of any attempt to “round out” orthodox Marxism with the ideas of Freud.²⁹

Lukacs’s criticisms would not have disturbed Eastman even had he been aware of them. The “illusions of philosophy” were, after all, the curse of a European mind supposedly “expiring” before the advance of science and psychology. In America, the land of scientific intelligence, Eastman was proud enough to believe that only he understood the limitations of philosophical Marxism and vain enough to claim that he alone was “the Left opposition.”³⁰ Yet the champion of Lenin and Trotsky would soon meet his match. In 1928 a young American philosophy student was awarded a Guggenheim fellowship to travel to Germany in order to do research on Marx and to attend lectures on the latest currents of philosophical Marxism. Ironically, Eastman’s antagonist was not to be a European metaphysician but a home-grown pragmatist—Sidney Hook.

Eastman “bungled a great theme,” Hook announced in the *Modern Quarterly* in 1928. He interpreted Marx’s views as “the confused, personal expression of a queer German—at once hard-headed (scientific) and quasi-religious—trying to liberate himself from the metaphysical superstitions of a still queerer German—Hegel.” The barbed shafts of the scrappy young philosopher sparked a sardonic debate that dragged on for five years, at which point editor V. F. Calverton wearily stepped in and put an end to the affair so that two radicals would no longer “vent their spleen in public to the obscene enjoyment of the bourgeois world.”³¹

In the first phase of the debate (1928–30) three issues divided Eastman and Hook. As a thorough rationalist and a student of Dewey, Hook questioned whether Freudianism would, as Eastman assumed, advance Marxian analysis. Freud not only made psychic reality prior to social reality, he formulated theories of human behavior that represented the “grossest violation” of scientific method. The extent of determinism in Marx’s philosophy was also at issue. Hook agreed with Eastman that the theory of historical materialism suffered because of the failure to distinguish necessary and sufficient causes and because of the “oscillating between the anthropomorphic and functional” conceptions of causation. Eastman erred, however, in not seeing that Marxism poses no “inevitable ends” but only “effects” and “objective tendencies.” Eastman also failed to acknowledge that Marx, in

²⁹ Charles Rappoport, “Les Sophismes Revisionistes,” *L’Humanité*, Dec. 5, 1926; Georg Lukacs, “Eine Marxkritik im Dienste des Trotzismus,” *Die Internationale*, 10 (1927): 189–90; and Lukacs, *Lenin: A Study on the Unity of His Thought* (1924), tr. Nicholas Jacobs (Cambridge, Mass., 1971).

³⁰ “I supported every step,” Eastman informed Trotsky, “taken by the Bolshevik party and by you and Lenin from the seizure of power and the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly (horrible to all other American editors) to the condemnation of the Social Revolutionaries. I was for six years alone in America in supporting the Left Opposition. I was the Left Opposition.” Eastman to Trotsky, Feb. 24, 1933, Eastman Papers.

³¹ Sidney Hook, “Marxism, Metaphysics, and Modern Science,” *Modern Quarterly*, 4 (May–Aug. 1928): 388–94; *ibid.*, 7 (Sept. 1933): 511–12; Eastman to Calverton, Aug. 9, 1933, Calverton Papers.

The Holy Family, had declared that “history does nothing, it ‘possesses no colossal riches,’ it ‘fights no fight!’ It is rather man—real, living man—who acts, possesses, and fights in everything.” But the most troubling issue was the philosophy of Hegel. No one “swallows Hegel whole,” Hook maintained, least of all Marx, who used dialectical reasoning not to establish a universal law but to illuminate social “contradictions.” Eastman was “poking fun” at Hegel and “ridiculing” his “cumbrous language” instead of trying to penetrate his Teutonic prose in order to perceive his great insights. Eastman, Hook advised, ought to read Hegel’s *Phänomenologie des Geistes* “as punishment.”³²

Despite his cavalier tone, Hook could not so easily dismiss Eastman’s *Marx and Lenin*, and when he began to work out his own interpretation of Marxism he emphasized the “systematic contrasts” between Hegel and Marx in order to “close the door tight to attempts at ‘*Ergänzung*’ Marx by Hegelianizing him.”³³ Yet Hook astutely perceived the important elements of continuity as well as change between Hegel and Marx. Accordingly, he set for himself two basic tasks: first, to demonstrate how Hegel and Marx shared a common belief in the centrality of process, movement, and development on the one hand, and a common opposition to Kantian ethical idealism, sensationist empiricism, and bourgeois social atomism on the other; and second, to explain how Hegel and Marx were “utterly opposed in substance and spirit” regarding the role of philosophy, the function of mind, and the meaning of the dialectic. Thus against Hegel’s philosophy of speculation and reflection (which arrives “too late”), Hook contrasted Marx’s philosophy of praxis and transformation; and against Hegel’s theory of mind as the vessel of logically necessary truths, he contrasted Marx’s view of mind as the instrument of social action. As for the dialectic, Hook was certain that once Marx’s version was stripped of its Hegelian terminology, one could grasp its meaning in its application. The dialectic enabled Marx to appreciate the structural interrelationships of society and to perceive the causal factors of social change in the processes of contradiction and resolution. Significantly, Hook pointed out similarities between dialectical thinking and “instrumentalist logic” in which knowledge expresses itself in practical activity arising from the conflict between human needs and social conditions. Moreover, Marxism and pragmatism shared a common criterion of verification. As a “method” of thinking, Marxism must therefore be considered “a huge judgment of practice, in Dewey’s sense of the phrase,

³² Hook, “Marxism, Metaphysics, and Modern Science,” 390–94.

³³ Sidney Hook, “From Hegel to Marx,” *Modern Quarterly*, 6 (Summer 1932): 33–43. Hook expressed indebtedness to the work of Korsch and Lukacs, though he believed that Korsch underestimated the difficulties in making the “formal aspects” of Marx’s thought “practical,” and that Lukacs linked “Marx up—unfortunately much too closely—with the stream of German classical philosophy.” Hook, *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx: A Revolutionary Interpretation* (New York, 1933), xii.

and its truth or falsity (instrumental adequacy) is an experimental matter. Believing in it and acting upon it helps to make it true or false."³⁴

As epistemology, Marxism and American pragmatism did have something in common, and had Hook confined himself to treating the dialectic as a "method" that sensitizes the mind to social antinomies, he would have avoided what Eastman called the "metaphysical pretensions" of philosophy. But never quite able to separate form from content, Hook was tempted to see meaning as well as method in the dialectic. Whatever the validity of his claims, Hook clearly went beyond the limitations of instrumentalist knowledge when he maintained that the "dialectical principle explains how human beings, although conditioned by society, are enabled through activity to change both themselves and society"; when he asserted that "in Marx as well as in Hegel the dialectic is, so to speak, the philosophical rhythms of conscious life"; when he argued that Marxism is "a 'partial' or 'partisan' theory without ceasing to be an objective expression of the interests of the proletariat"; and when he declared that Marx offered the clear choice between "communism" and "barbarism." Despite his Deweyite language, Hook the revolutionist assumed the stance of a Jamesian radical, a "Marxist of the heart" who was not reluctant to invoke the will to believe and to act in order to "make" communism come true. Marx's philosophy of history, Hook declared in a moment of Roycean lyricism, "fuses the logic of analysis with the poetry of passion."³⁵

It was this fusion, this systematic effort to synthesize objective description with subjective desire, that had earlier seduced Eastman the poet into declaring himself a Marxist. Now the whole effort seemed psychologically understandable and therefore philosophically unacceptable. In numerous articles and letters to the *Modern Quarterly*, and in a forty-seven-page

³⁴ Sidney Hook, "From Hegel to Marx," *Modern Quarterly*, 6 (Winter 1931): 46-62; *ibid.*, 6 (Summer 1932): 33-43; *ibid.*, 6 (Autumn 1932): 58-67. "The fluidity of thing and fact and the changing context of judgment represent the heart of the dialectic, and not the antiquated terms in which Hegel dressed up the idea. Mr. Eastman may be surprised to learn that the dialectic—modified to be sure—appears in the instrumentalist logic. In any moving, developing situation the relation between 'need' and 'fulfillment' has been taken by Professor Dewey to be an instance of 'intrinsic opposites' whose resolution appears as a factor in other concrete situations which grow out of the first. But an existential bipolarity is the condition precedent to genuine thinking." Hook, "Marxism, Metaphysics, and Modern Science," 393.

³⁵ Hook, *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, 92, 100, 109-10. "We are now in a position to understand what Marx really means when he speaks of the historical inevitability of communism. Communism is not something fated to be realized in the nature of things; but, if society is to survive, communism offers the only way out of the impasse created by the inability of capitalism, despite its superabundance of wealth, to provide a decent social existence for its own wage-earners. What Marx is really saying is: either this (communism) or nothing (barbarism). That is why communists feel justified in claiming that their doctrine expresses both the subjective class interests of the proletariat and the objective interests of civilization. The objectivity of Marxism is derived from the truth of the disjunction; the subjectivity, from the fact that *this* is chosen rather than *nothing*. . . . It is only when one accepts the first term of the disjunction—which is a psychological, and, if you please, an ethical act, that he has a right to the name [of Marxist]. The choice is intelligent only if it takes note of Marx's analysis; but once the choice is made, it itself becomes an historical factor in making the revolutionary ideal come true." *Ibid.*, 113-14. Hook, "From Hegel to Marx," *Modern Quarterly*, 6 (Winter 1931): 62.

pamphlet entitled *The Last Stand of Dialectical Materialism*, he answered Hook in his customary lucid language unencumbered by philosophical jargon. Why must Hook, Eastman complained, characterize Marx's philosophy "as 'naturalistic activism,' 'social behaviorism,' 'revolutionary voluntarism,' 'voluntaristic humanism,' 'voluntaristic realism,' 'activistic atheism,' 'critical historicism,' 'realistic evolutionary naturalism,' 'Aristotelianism saturated with temporalism,' and other long-tailed horny epithets very disheartening to a man who is not accustomed to take his vacations in the library." The crux of the issue was not, as Hook implied, whether Marxism could be made compatible with the principles of American pragmatism. Although committed to scientific methodology, Eastman never had much regard for the pragmatic definition of truth, which he sensed had more to do with power and control than with knowledge or wisdom.³⁶ And while Dewey may have carried over from Hegel the ideal of identifying theoretical and practical consciousness, Dewey never studied Marx and did not deduce the idea of class struggle from the concept of the dialectic. Nor was historical inevitability the issue, for Hook eschewed the deterministic elements of Marxism: socialism was a probability, not a necessity. The crux of the issue was the problem of the relation of mind to the external world. How is reality to be perceived? Can the scientific mind—as opposed to the philosophic or poetic mind, which rely upon reflection and intuition—identify the perception of reality with reality itself? Eastman returned to the "Theses on Feuerbach" for the answer, and here he seized upon the kernel of Marx's advice:

The chief fault of all materialism heretofore (including Feuerbach's) is that object, reality, sensibility (*Sinnlichkeit*), is conceived only under the form of object or of contemplation; not as human-sensible activity, Praxis, not sub-

³⁶ Both Hook and Eastman had studied under Dewey at Columbia University. "But I studied under Dewey," Eastman insisted, "not as a disciple of his pragmatist or instrumentalist philosophy, but always with a feeling that I stood 'to the left' of him—not only politically, but in the direction of scientific skepticism." Eastman had begun a thesis under Dewey criticizing pragmatism from this viewpoint, "and I never receded from that thesis. Its bright point, I remember, was the rather impertinent remark that, 'if "the meaning of an idea is its results in action," then the meaning of pragmatism is to resign your chairs in philosophy.'" Eastman, "A Master Magician," *Modern Monthly*, 7 (June 1933): 290–93; see also Eastman's affectionate portrait of Dewey, "The Hero as Teacher," in *Heroes I Have Known*, 274–321. Eastman had urged Dewey to preside over a debate between himself and Hook. Although Dewey declined, stating he did not "know enough Marx," he was willing to write the following statement for the possible reissue of Eastman's book: "Mr. Eastman has not only disentangled Hegelian metaphysics in a masterly fashion from Marx's fundamental contribution to thought; he has done much more by exhibiting the corroding animism which afflicts much philosophic, economic, and psychological writing even today." Dewey to Eastman, Feb. 7, 1933, Eastman Papers. See also Dewey's "Why I Am Not a Communist," in *The Meaning of Marxism: A Symposium* (New York, 1934), 86–90. Bertrand Russell also discerned epistemological similarities between Marxism and pragmatism and, like Eastman, remained skeptical of both philosophies. See Russell, "Dialectical Materialism," in Patrick Gardiner, ed., *Theories of History* (New York, 1959), 283–95; and "Why I Am Not a Communist," in *The Meaning of Marxism*, 83–85. But Russell, who had from the beginning criticized Bolshevism along with Marxism, had equally strong doubts about Eastman's praise of Lenin. Eastman to Calverton, June 6, 1937, Calverton Papers.

jectively. Hence the active side developed in opposition to materialism abstractly from idealism—abstractly, because idealism naturally did not recognize sensible activity as such. Feuerbach wants objects of sense reality distinguished from objects of thought, but he does not conceive of human activity itself as objective activity.

As Eastman interpreted the passage, Marx was asserting that subject and object are identical, that the activity of the human mind and the motion of the material world are "*the same thing*, and that that thing is to be conceived *subjectively* as *practical human sensible activity*." To see man as an objective being who conceives subjectively, to regard human activity itself as objective activity, comes close to asserting that what is perceived is identical to *how* it is conceived. This advice seemed to Eastman to be a reversion to the idealist fallacy of attributing reality to the knowing subject. Marx assumed he had saved the "rational kernel" and eliminated the "mystical shell" in Hegel's philosophy. When Marx, however, made material activity the agency of spiritual realization, he inverted Hegel's ontology only to absorb his teleology. Thus, however it might be clothed in the language of materialism, philosophic Marxism would remain for Eastman a form of "animism," an attempt to read "subjectively" the ideal into the real in order to identify human purposes and desires with historical processes and developments.³⁷

Hook had tried to resolve the metaphysical problems of Marxism in somewhat the same way that Dewey had tried to resolve the metaphysical problems of pragmatism,³⁸ but Eastman could accept neither philosophy. Marxism and pragmatism demonstrated that knowledge was action and power, but neither could prove to Eastman that the ultimate nature of reality would be anything more than a projection of alienated man's need to find meaning in a meaningless universe. Eastman believed in "progress," and he believed that Lenin's great achievement showed that the world could be improved by acting upon it and transforming it. But Hegelian Marxism could not overcome the acute tensions that lay at the heart of Eastman's esthetic sensibility: the dualisms between moral vision and factual description, between mind and object, purpose and process, desire and reality.³⁹ To Eastman history would remain a

³⁷ Max Eastman, *The Last Stand of Dialectical Materialism: A Study of Sidney Hook's Marxism* (New York, 1934), 7–18, *passim*; "Marxism: Science or Philosophy?" *The New International*, 2 (1935): 159–63. For a different interpretation of this crucial passage in the "Theses on Feuerbach," see Sidney Hook, "Marx and Feuerbach," *The New International*, 3 (1936): 47–57.

³⁸ Sidney Hook, "Marxism and Values," *The Marxist Quarterly*, 1 (1937): 38–45.

³⁹ An acute awareness of these tensions also enabled Eastman to resist vigorously all efforts to instrumentalize art as a class weapon. After quoting from a Communist manifesto summoning the intellectual to establish an "International of Proletarian World Literature," Eastman warned: "In other words art and poetry, having with difficulty escaped from their bondage to religion, must now enter into bondage in politics. They must be regarded as subordinate to a single practical enterprise. No great or consecrated poet or artist in the world could sincerely subscribe to such a manifesto. Poetry and art may contribute vitally to purposive effort, but they are in their essence and definition distinct from it and independent of it. Their interest is in experience and not purpose, in being and not becoming. The only ultimate distinction which

problem for which philosophy offered no solution. This “doctrinal crisis” in Marxism made Eastman the first major infidel of the Old Left, the first radical philosopher to question the philosophical assumptions of radicalism.⁴⁰ Yet, curiously, Eastman’s skepticism was itself based on the illusion that radical man can live without radical illusions. He demanded that Marxism divorce itself from Hegelianism in order to acquire a self-critical understanding of its own myths. Such a demand is a psychological if not a theoretical impossibility. A Marxist need not believe in man, but he must believe in *the* meaning of history illuminated by philosophy. Eastman could believe in Lenin and revolution, love and sexual liberation (“lust is sacred”), the joy of living, and nothing more.

THE EASTMAN-HOOK DIALOGUE fascinated some American radicals and frustrated others. Eastman’s refutation of Hegelian Marxism seemed to identify him with Bernstein and revisionism, yet his continued espousal of Leninism made him a staunch Bolshevik. At the same time Hook’s defense of Marxism identified him as an authentic revolutionary, but his increasing doubts about the principle of the “dictatorship of the proletariat” made him appear less a Leninist than a Kautskyist. To find out who was left of whom, several independent radicals, especially those connected with the newly formed American Workers party, tried unsuccessfully to bring Eastman and Hook together for what Max Shachtman amusingly called “The Debate of the Colossi.”⁴¹

Meanwhile, from Prinkipo, Turkey, Leon Trotsky had been following the divisive affair. Although he was critical of Hook’s effort to strip Marxism of its doctrinal significance and reduce it to a “method,” Trotsky was more upset by Eastman’s wholesale assault on Hegel and the dialectic. He warned *The Militant* that Eastman was “carrying out a systematic fight against materialist dialectics, the philosophical foundation of Marxism,” and he advised Calverton and the *Modern Quarterly* that Eastman was embarking upon a “retrograde adventure.”⁴² Trotsky’s attack stung Eastman. During these years he had been helping Trotsky publish his books

can be made between poetic and practical language is that poetic language pauses to realize the existing nature of things mentioned, practical language merely indicates them for the purposes of action and adjustment” (*Marx and Lenin*, 183). Eastman’s distinction between poetry as the realm of “being” and politics as the realm of “becoming” seemed to Hook a false dichotomy made by one who possessed “an intense animus against metaphysics [which] is very childlike.” The distinction itself, Hook maintained, “is metaphysics, and bad metaphysics at that.” Hook, “Marxism, Metaphysics, and Modern Science,” 388–89.

⁴⁰ See the various attacks on Eastman in “Marxism and Social Change: A Symposium,” *Modern Quarterly*, 5 (Winter 1930–31): 427–50.

⁴¹ Will Herberg, “Workers’ Democracy or Dictatorship? On Hook’s Revival of Kautsky’s Theories,” *Workers Age*, Dec. 15, 1934, pp. 3, 8; Shachtman to Eastman, Feb. 13, 1934; A. J. Muste to Eastman, Aug. 22, 1934, Eastman Papers.

⁴² Trotsky to Hook, Apr. 10, 1933; Trotsky to *The Militant*, July 1929; “Perspectives of American Marxism,” MS to Calverton, Nov. 4, 1932, Trotsky Archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

and articles in the United States, always making sure the near-destitute exile received good terms from American publishers. Eastman had also tried to help Trotsky obtain a visa to enter the United States, and he attempted to gather support for him among writers like Theodore Dreiser (who refused on the grounds that Trotskyism endangered the Soviet Union). What distressed Eastman, however, was not Trotsky's ingratitude but his willingness to condemn *Marx and Lenin* before he had studied it (Trotsky admitted he had "only turned over the pages").⁴³ Although in 1940 Trotsky would write a defense of dialectical logic, in the early thirties it was obvious that the Bolshevik hero had not pondered the epistemological issues that Eastman had raised.⁴⁴ Indeed, at times Trotsky's own argument regarding the primacy of revolutionary "will" seemed to echo the very case Eastman had been trying to make in divorcing Lenin the revolutionist from from Marx the Hegelian.⁴⁵

In the mid-thirties Eastman turned from the philosophical implications of Marxism to the cultural implications of Stalinism. Combining his knowledge of recent literary trends with his previous training in esthetics, he produced two books that challenged the cult of proletarian realism and brought to light the fate of artistic freedom in the Soviet Union.⁴⁶ To the Stalinist Left these works represented the final acts of betrayal. Since the early twenties Eastman had been suspected by Moscow of being a counterrevolutionary and even a "British spy" for his publication of Lenin's "Testament" and his support of Trotsky. Now he was denounced as a "filthy and deliberate liar" (Mike Gold), a Philistine and hypocrite who "defoul[s] everything he touches" (Joshua Kunitz), and a "gangster of the pen" (Stalin).⁴⁷ Then in 1938, during the height of the Moscow trials, the *Daily Worker* headlined his name as an accomplice in the Trotsky "conspiracy." His old friend Carlo Tresca—an anarchist who had also been branded an "enemy" for publicizing the Kremlin's alleged involvement in the disappearance of Juliet Poyntz and the Stalinist responsibility for the murder of Andrés Nin—advised Eastman to sue the *Daily Worker* for libel. Eastman did so, not to

⁴³ Eastman to Robert LaFollette, June 7, 1933; Eastman to William C. Bullitt, June 13, 1933; Dreiser to Eastman, May 26, 1933; Eastman to Trotsky, July 9, 1929, Feb. 24, 1933, Eastman Papers.

⁴⁴ According to James Burnham, Trotsky had asked him and other writers in *The New International* to respond to Eastman's critiques of Marxist philosophy. (Interview with Burnham, June 11, 1971.) Burnham was willing to defend Marxism but not dialectical materialism, which he saw as "only a disguised form of monistic objective idealism" that falsely guaranteed the inevitability of socialism. See John West [James Burnham], "Max Eastman's Straw Man," *The New International*, 2 (1935): 220–25.

⁴⁵ "It is necessary to remember that Marxism both interprets the world and teaches how to change it. The will is the moving element in the domain of knowledge, too. If Marxism loses its will to transform political reality, it loses the ability to understand it." Trotsky, "Perspectives of American Marxism."

⁴⁶ Max Eastman, *Artists in Uniform: A Study of Literature of Bureaucratism* (New York, 1934); *Art and the Life of Action* (London, 1935).

⁴⁷ Quoted in Daniel Aaron, *Writers on the Left: Episodes in American Literary Communism* (New York, 1961), 315, 319–20.

seek a retraction, but, as Tresca instructed, to use the publicity to protect himself against the fate of other anti-Stalinists at the hands of the GPU.⁴⁸

Eastman had always regarded companionship and fraternal happiness as one of the great pleasures in life. Thus the insults of former comrades and the loss of old friends left him distraught, not only by the slanders of the Stalinists but by the “massacre of honesty and political clear thinking by our famous ‘liberals.’” Yet the isolation of Eastman was a prelude to his vindication. For although the popular-front mentality made him a pariah to communists and fellow-traveling liberals, he could take some satisfaction from the intellectual countercurrents that began to surface around 1938. The esteemed philosopher Dewey now began to address himself to Marxism and to articulate criticisms that resembled Eastman’s earlier analysis. Doubting that methods of political action could be “deduced” from a “fixed law” of social development, Dewey questioned whether means and ends could be “read out of” the presumed laws of society or nature. “Orthodox Marxism,” Dewey observed, “shares with orthodox religionism and with traditional idealism the belief that human ends are interwoven into the very texture of existence—a conception inherited presumably from its Hegelian origins.” As the decade drew to a close, American Trotskyists like James Burnham and Max Shachtman would also challenge the validity of Hegelian Marxism. “Comrade Trotsky,” wrote Burnham just before resigning from the Socialist Workers party, “you have absorbed too much of Hegel, of his monolithic, his totalitarian, vision of a block universe, in which every part is related to every other part, in which everything is relevant to everything else, where the destruction of a single grain of dust means the annihilation of the Whole.”⁴⁹ More telling were Sidney Hook’s second thoughts on the dialectic in particular and on Marxism in general. Having investigated the writings of the nineteenth-century Left Hegelians, Hook perceived disparities and distortions between the historical materialism of Marx and the dialectical materialism of Engels. In a brilliant philosophical analysis of Engels, “Dialectic and Nature,” Hook now acknowledged that the concept of the dialectic had been appropriated uncritically from Hegel’s speculative ontology and erroneously accorded universal status in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and geology, as well as in history and philosophy. As a constitutive principle inherent in every conceivable aspect of the universe, the dialectic functioned more as “mythology” than methodology.⁵⁰ Several years

⁴⁸ Eastman, *Love and Revolution*, 627.

⁴⁹ Eastman to Calverton, Mar. 4, 1937, Calverton Papers; John Dewey, “Means and Ends,” *The New Internationalist*, 4 (1938): 232–33; James Burnham, “Science and Style,” reprinted in Leon Trotsky, *In Defense of Marxism (Against the Petty-bourgeois Opposition)* (New York, 1965), 196–97; Trotsky to Burnham, Jan. 7, 1940, Trotsky Archives.

⁵⁰ Sidney Hook, “Dialectic and Nature,” *The Marxist Quarterly*, 1 (1937): 253–84; “Dialectic in Social and Historical Inquiry,” *Journal of Philosophy*, July 6, 1939, pp. 365–78. Eastman applauded Hook’s reconsiderations and described “Dialectic and Nature” as a “brilliant study” (Eastman, “Trotsky’s Use of ‘Dialectic,’” MS, n.d., Eastman Papers). Hook, in turn, welcomed Eastman’s writings on Soviet culture and his effort to set straight the record on John Reed (Hook to Calverton, Aug. 26, 1936, Calverton Papers). Observing Hook “quietly changing

later Hook went on to juxtapose Lenin, the “event-making man,” to the principle of historical determinism in order to demonstrate some of the same weaknesses in Marx’s philosophy of history that Eastman had disclosed fifteen years earlier.⁵¹

Even more encouraging was the support Eastman received from the greatest literary mind of his generation—Edmund Wilson. In 1937 Wilson dug up a copy of Eastman’s out-of-print *Marx and Lenin* and found it to be “the best critical thing I’ve read on this philosophical aspect of Marxism.” Even though the book, Wilson informed Eastman, “suffers a little” from its abstract and negative tone and hence its lack of dramatic style, “it would have been a good thing if people had read it a few years ago when everybody was going crazy about Marxism.” Wilson had studied Eastman’s book in connection with his own forthcoming work on the intellectual history of European socialism. “What I have written,” he told John Dos Passos in 1938, “will fill the Marxists with horror.” That fall he published a section of his manuscript, “The Myth of the Dialectic,” in the *Partisan Review*. The editors wanted to have Hook, Burnham, Bertram D. Wolfe, and Meyer Shapiro reply, but, as William Phillips observed, these writers were no longer committed to the issue and thus there was little chance of getting “a real 100% dialectical materialist.”⁵² Two years later, during the period of the nonaggression pact, Wilson’s magisterial *To the Finland Station* appeared. Here he described Eastman’s book as a “remarkable study” to which he owed “a special debt.” Wilson’s analysis, although far more comprehensive in treating the complex development of Marxism, essentially followed Eastman’s critique of the dialectic as a “religious myth” and his celebration of Lenin as the revolutionary who turned ideas into flesh and made intellectual history the study of action as well as thought.⁵³

his mind” about dialectical philosophy, some wondered whether Eastman’s writings had any influence on Hook’s “most startling” shift of attitude (Margaret Johus to Eastman, Dec. 7, 1938; Alfred Bingham to Eastman, Nov. 4, 1938, Eastman Papers). It is doubtful that Hook would allow himself to be influenced by a part-time philosopher like Eastman. Perhaps the one thinker who impressed Hook in the thirties was Karl Korsch, whose lectures he had attended in Berlin. Hook tried to get Korsch to participate in various American symposia on Marxism, paid for his subscription to the *Modern Quarterly*, and sent him his own articles on Hegel and Marx (Hook to Calverton, July 14, 1934, Calverton Papers). In the late thirties Korsch, now living in the United States, reconsidered his earlier synthesis of Marxism and German idealism and stressed the differences between Marx and Hegel (Korsch, “Leading Principles of Marxism,” *The Marxist Quarterly*, 1 [1937]: 356–78). In *Karl Marx* (London, 1938), he sought to convert Marxism into a theory of revolutionary practice and free historical materialism from the contemplative spell of Hegel—somewhat the same approach Eastman advocated a decade earlier. Unfortunately, even though Calverton urged Eastman to read Korsch’s articles and books, Eastman felt there was nothing more to be learned from a German Marxist philosopher (Eastman to Calverton, Feb. 28, 1939, Calverton Papers).

⁵¹ Sidney Hook, *The Hero in History: A Study in Limitation and Possibility* (New York, 1943).

⁵² Wilson to Eastman, Oct. 5, 1938, Eastman Papers; Wilson to Dos Passos, Apr. 27, 1938, Dos Passos Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia; Phillips to Wilson, Aug. 31, 1938; Wilson to Dwight Macdonald, Sept. 10, 1943, *Partisan Review* Files, Rutgers University Library.

⁵³ Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station: A Study in the Writing and Acting of History* (Anchor ed.; Garden City, N.Y., n.d.), 179–98, 372–402. Wilson, however, was less certain than Eastman that Lenin could be appreciated apart from Marxism. Although Bolshevism may

Thus the year 1940 saw the appearance of three important American books that rejected the dialectic as either a disguised theology, a pseudologic of organic totality, or a Pythagorean allusion suggesting the insurgent power of a phallic symbol: Eastman's *Marxism is it Science*, Hook's *Reason, Social Myth and Democracy*, and Wilson's *To the Finland Station*. The following year an erudite treatise was published that scarcely raised an eyebrow among America's disenchanted Marxists—Herbert Marcuse's *Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory*. Here the German exile scholar attempted to explicate Hegel to the Anglo-Saxon world, to rescue German idealism from its perversions in the writings of Italian and German fascists, to present the dialectic as a revolutionary concept that retains the tension between the "is" and the "ought," between what is immediately given and what is ultimately real, and thus to offer a radical "critical theory" of existing society. But to most Old Left intellectuals in America, Hegel's philosophy was too ambiguous, too full of unresolved contradictions. At once a philosophy of negation and reconciliation, Hegelianism seemed to comprehend everything metaphysical and explain nothing political.⁵⁴

Curiously, the German exile scholars at the Institute for Social Research in New York did not bother to respond to the American critique of Hegel and dialectical reasoning. Although they had been aware of the debates be-

not have been the historical actualization of the dialectic, Lenin identified his deeds with the course of history just as Marx had identified his doctrines with the logic of philosophy. This raises the question whether Lenin could have, psychologically as well as philosophically, succeeded in making a social revolution happen without the conviction that he embodied the will of Marxism. Although Wilson then avoided the issue (but later returned to it indirectly in *Patriotic Gore* [Galaxy ed., New York, 1966], xvi–xix), a powerful case for the argument had been made earlier by Waldo Frank: "There is, moreover, no contradiction between the philosophy of Marx and the methodology of Lenin. Mr. Eastman (like most enemies of philosophy) is so simplistic that he cannot conciliate the concept of historical necessity (Marxism) with the necessity, *within that necessity*, of human will to determine its methods of action, to choose, to fight and to create (Leninism). The dynamism of Lenin as an engineer lies precisely in his being nurtured by the *Weltanschauung* of Marx, his intuition of life as an organism *with an internal direction*. Mr. Eastman, it seems to me, is unable to understand Lenin because he rejects what is profound and true in Marx. There is no antithesis between a social engineer and a prophet" (*Modern Quarterly*, 5 [Winter 1930–31]: 448). To Eastman, however, whether or not Lenin was acting in the name of Marxism proved nothing about the epistemological claims of Marxian philosophy, which demands that theory and practice be organically related. Eastman was an "enemy of philosophy" only to the extent that those who regarded themselves as philosophers failed to answer their own questions. "It seems to me," he wrote to another one of his critics who challenged him on the same issue, "that this philosophical position of Lenin's ignores the essential problem which it pretends to solve. The problem about determinism and free will is: How to reconcile the assumption of the mind that everything is determined with its assumption that by knowing these determinations, it can itself determine the future. Neither Engels nor Lenin approaches this problem, and the reason is, I think, that they are not interested in philosophical problems as such, but merely in arriving at a practical, working attitude of mind. . . . In short, if you will think longer about it, I think you will see that you cannot possibly attribute to mind—and that means will, thought, and feeling—a dynamic effect upon the ordered movement of matter without assuming that, at least where mind arises, there is an indetermination in that movement" (Eastman to Peter Berlinrut, Sept. 16, 1933, Eastman Papers).

⁵⁴ See Sidney Hook's severe review of *Reason and Revolution* in the *New Republic*, July 21, 1941, pp. 90–91.

tween Eastman and Hook, the Frankfurt philosophers and sociologists dismissed the affair as an extension of the "positivist emasculation of Marxism" that had begun in Europe, a subject to which Max Horkheimer had fully addressed himself a decade earlier. This attitude raises a difficult question in intellectual history: what is the relationship of philosophical ideas to political positions?⁵⁵

Sidney Hook believed there was a clear relationship. Although certainly not a positivist, Hook did tend to associate the empirical, pragmatic habits of thought with progressive and radical tendencies, and the Hegelian, idealist modes of knowledge with conservative and authoritarian movements.⁵⁶ This distinction may collapse before the vagaries of European intellectual history, but in twentieth-century America it did make sense in view of Dewey's and James's reaction to the Hegelian idealism of Josiah Royce and the resistance to scientific thought by conservative intellectuals who defended Southern agrarianism, classical humanism, or Roman Catholicism. With Max Eastman, however, we have an intellectual who came to radicalism by way of poetry. As a lyrical rebel of the Greenwich Village generation, he was aware of the radical tradition of Kantian and Hegelian idealism that had inspired Whitman and the American Transcendentalists. Yet while poetic idealism could inspire an indictment of society, it could not offer the basis for analyzing and changing society. Poetry, like philosophy, afforded only the "emotional realization" of ideas. "Why not say," Eastman remarked in reference to Marx's dictum, "'Poets have sung the world . . . painters have painted the world; the thing is to change it.'" Only science enabled man to transform the world in order to realize the transcendent ideas born of poetry or philosophy. However, science also spelled the end of philosophical idealism. With Veblen Eastman believed that science would make man less "anthropomorphic," free him of the "animism" and "superstition" with which nineteenth-century thinkers had reified metaphysical ideas like natural law and thereby rendered man-made conventions beyond the control of man.⁵⁷ This radical change in American social thought meant that history would now be studied in naturalistic terms in which there would be no place for the operation of disembodied forces, immaterial laws, or teleological systems. The American revolt against German idealism—most pronounced in the works of Dewey and Veblen—appears something quite

⁵⁵ Interview with Herbert Marcuse, Sept. 14, 1972; John P. Diggins, "Pragmatism and Ideology: Philosophy or Passion?" *American Political Science Review*, 64 (1970): 899-906.

⁵⁶ Sidney Hook, "Metaphysics and Social Attitudes," *The Social Frontier*, 4 (1938): 153-58; "Hegel Rehabilitated?" *Encounter*, 24 (Jan. 1965): 53-58; Shlomo Avineri, "Hook's Hegel," *Encounter*, 24 (Nov. 1965): 63-66.

⁵⁷ Eastman, "Marxism: Science or Philosophy?" 163. There is a striking similarity between Eastman's and Veblen's attitudes toward Marxism. Veblen also believed Marx was caught up in nineteenth-century metaphysical assumptions. His "subliminated materialism" betrayed the spirit of Hegel in the language of Darwinism, while his theory of class struggle "proceeds on the grounds of the hedonistic calculus" that is "closer to Bentham than to Hegel." "Animism" was also a favorite description of Veblen's. See Veblen, "The Socialist Economics of Karl Marx and His Followers," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 20 (1906): 578-95.

different from European positivism.⁵⁸ For Eastman the naturalization of knowledge did not deny the reality of subjective factors like will, imagination, and instinct; it simply meant that metaphysical thought could no longer assert the right to reach historical truths independent of the findings of natural science. The Frankfurt scholars' case against positivism was that its methodology isolated and compartmentalized phenomena, treated all forms of social existence as ontologically permanent, focused on factual data at the cost of ignoring normative ideals, and hence succumbed to "uncritical objectivism."⁵⁹ This description hardly applied to Eastman, who originally wanted to make Marxism "scientific" in order to better assert its power of transformation:

Mind's task is not to blur the real
With mimic tints from an ideal,
But to change one into the other by an act.⁶⁰

Eastman believed that Lenin, not Marx, carried out this task, and his admiration of Lenin is perhaps best understood in light of Veblen's respect for the "matter of fact" engineer as the revolutionist of the future.

Whatever "scientific" Marxism implied, the Old Left's repudiation of the dialectic does reveal a great deal about the bias against formal metaphysics in American social thought. Long before most other writers, Eastman correctly perceived that any debate over the meaning of Marxism would ultimately be a debate over the meaning and validity of Hegelianism. His contribution to the critique of dialectical materialism would gain considerable recognition in British scholarship, particularly in the work of Sir Isaiah Berlin, R. N. Carew-Hunt, and Raymond Postgate.⁶¹ In America Eastman's limited influence waned further in the forties and fifties as he moved to the right and supported the cold war and defended free enterprise. Yet between the demise of the Old Left and the rise of the New Left, Eastman's legacy was not completely forgotten. Indeed, Mario Savio, a leader of the Berkeley Free Speech movement, once declared: "A lot of Hegel got

⁵⁸ John Dewey, *German Philosophy and Politics* (New York, 1915); Thorstein Veblen, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1915); see also Morton White, *Social Thought in America: The Revolt Against Formalism* (Beacon ed.; Boston, 1957), 147-60.

⁵⁹ Max Horkheimer, *Critical Theory: Selected Essays*, tr. Matthew J. O'Connell et al. (New York, 1972), 132-87.

⁶⁰ Preface to Eastman's poem "Lot's Wife," quoted in *Reflections on the Failure of Socialism* (Universal Library ed.; New York, 1962), 57. Eastman always regretted never having fully developed his notion of science, his "unborn magnum opus." See *Love and Revolution*, 127, 200-03.

⁶¹ In *Karl Marx: His Life and Environment* (Galaxy ed.; New York, 1963), Sir Isaiah Berlin called Eastman's *Marxism is it Science* "an essay of characteristic brilliance by this sharp and original critic and excellent writer, bitterly condemned as a heretic by orthodox Communists" (p. 287). R. N. Carew-Hunt, *The Theory and Practice of Communism* (Penguin ed.; Baltimore, 1963), 48-49, 52, 55, 144, 153, 240, 298; Carew-Hunt to Eastman, Jan. 20, 1954, Eastman Papers. For a critique of Eastman and Raymond Postgate, see T. A. Jackson, *Dialectics: The Logic of Marxism and Its Critics* (London, 1936), 481-560. For a more recent Marxist review of the issue, see Edward J. Primbs, "Contemporary American Criticism of Dialectical Materialism," *Science and Society*, 29 (1965): 129-72. An important new book that appeared too late to use here is Cristiano Camporesi's *Il marxismo teorico negli USA, 1900-1945* (Milan, 1973).

mixed up with Marx's notion of history. Max Eastman pointed this out. The dialectic was a way in which Marx made the course of history coincide with his unconscious desires."⁶² But the skepticism of Savio could hardly provide the emotional foundation on which left-wing movements are built. Nor could any New Left student who had read Eastman dare carry his psychological analysis to its logical conclusion. For when the young radicals of the 1960s discovered a "new" Marx, they, too, may have been making history "coincide" with desire. Once Marxism itself can be analyzed as an ideology, even radical self-consciousness may be seen as an objective illusion. There is no end to this mode of analysis when ideas are reduced to motives and thought treated as the rationalization of wish; no one is safe from the accusation of "false consciousness," least of all the accusers. The Old Left may have needed to believe in Marxism as a solution to the contradictions of capitalism, but the New Left needed to believe in it as an answer to the paradoxes of alienation. Thus the young radicals seized upon Marx's essentially Hegelian concepts of "estrangement," "alienation," and "reification" in order to turn a predicament of the human condition into a platform for social emancipation. After the belated discovery of the *Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts* of 1844, the meaning of Marxism would never be quite the same. The crucial distinctions that Eastman drew between Marxism and German idealism would now be reintegrated by the logic of perfect contradiction as Hegel reappeared in America as though the owl of Minerva were rising with the counterculture.⁶³

The moral and political idealism of an older radical social movement or school of thought is often rediscovered by a future generation as a source of inspiration. A study of the deradicalization of a Left intelligentsia, however, suggests that the skepticism of one generation can seldom be transmitted to another generation.⁶⁴ Not even Eastman's rhapsodic, life-celebrating, "affirmative skepticism" would be adequate for the young radicals of the sixties, who wanted "relevance" and not the lessons of experience from the authorities of failure. Thus only those of Eastman's generation who had followed his career could sufficiently appreciate his role as the critical conscience of the Stalinist era. This appreciation was perhaps best expressed

⁶² Quoted in Lewis S. Feuer, *The Conflict of Generation: The Character and Significance of Student Movements* (New York, 1969), 503.

⁶³ For a criticism of the Marxist explanation of alienation, see John P. Diggins, "Thoreau, Marx, and the 'Riddle' of Alienation," *Social Research*, 29 (1972): 571-98. New Left philosophers in the sixties were engaged in a determined effort to refute Eastman and Hook, restore the dialectic to nature, and reunite Marx and Hegel. See, for example, Michael Kosok, "The Dialectic of Nature: A Unified Field Theory of the Sciences," *Telos*, no. 6 (1970): 47-103; on the influence of Marcuse on the New Left, see Paul Breines, ed., *Critical Interruptions: New Left Perspectives on Herbert Marcuse* (New York, 1970); for Marcuse's view of the hippies and counterculture as possessing the new revolutionary "sensitivity of praxis," see his *An Essay on Liberation* (Boston, 1968); for a criticism of this view, see John P. Diggins, *The American Left in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1973), pp. 188-95, and Peter Clecak, *Radical Paradoxes* (New York, 1973).

⁶⁴ Diggins, *The American Left*, 136-52.

in 1941 by the late Edmund Wilson. Reviewing Eastman's *Marxism is it Science* and *Stalin's Russia and the Crisis of Socialism*, he praised the "natural genius" and "toughness" of a thinker who, like Trotsky, had been a hero to one generation of radical intellectuals only to become a heretic to another generation. Characteristically, Wilson found much to criticize in Eastman because he found much more to admire:

Max Eastman's comprehension of the modern world is limited in certain respects, and this is probably another reason for the recent neglect of his work. As his novel [*Venture*, 1926] is quite non-naturalistic, so his discussion of the Soviet Union and of the general situation of the West does not include an adequate picture of economic and social conditions. It is strange that this student of Marxism should never have learned from Marx what is certainly most valid in his system: the class analysis of historical happenings. Max Eastman, as Philip Rahv has pointed out, tends to talk as if the fallacies of Marxism had by themselves wrecked the Leninist revolution, and is not interested in finding out how the development of social forces has affected the application of ideas. But though it is true that he thinks mainly in terms of psychological motivations, of philosophical and moral positions, his criticisms along these lines has, nevertheless, proved extremely salutary at a time when people were trusting to arrangements of statistical figures to demonstrate the rights and wrongs of History without being able to smell the corpses in the Lubyanka or to take stock of what was healthy at home. Max Eastman has continued to perform for us the same function that he did in the first World War: that of the winter log that floats in the swimming-pool and prevents the concrete from cracking by itself taking the pressure of the ice.⁶⁵

IT IS TEMPTING esthetically to use Wilson's quote as a coda on which to end this study. But there are several reasons why it is necessary to continue. First of all, it would be wrong to conclude, as Wilson and Rahv suggested, and as the discussion up to now might imply, that Eastman's writings on Marxism amounted to "only" a study of ideas, a self-referential discourse on a disembodied metaphysical theory, and hence an abstract philosophical critique of no real significance because it gives no attention to "economic and social conditions." On the contrary, rather than an academic exercise in epistemology, Eastman's writings became far more important to the study and interpretation of contemporary history. Indeed, the debate over dialectical reasoning in the thirties reached its political climax in the historical issue of Stalinism. This unparalleled political phenomenon has continued to this day to intrigue and baffle scholars of all ideological persuasions. To the Old Left in general, and to Eastman, Hook, and Burnham in particular, the problem of understanding Stalinism became almost the problem of understanding history itself. For in the writings of their former hero, Leon Trotsky, the concept of the dialectic descended, as it were, from the metaphysical heights of pure philosophical discussion and entered history as a

⁶⁵ Edmund Wilson, "Max Eastman in 1941," *Classics and Commercials* (New York, 1950), 68-69.

real, vital idea whose validity was manifesting itself in the “contradictions” of the Soviet bureaucracy. By examining briefly the manner in which this problem was debated, we can not only see the curious interplay of philosophical ideas and the interpretation of historical reality, we can perhaps also begin to understand better the intellectual origins of what came to be called, misleadingly I believe, “anti-communism.”⁶⁶

For the generation of the 1930s the greatest analysis of Stalinism from the perspective of economic and social conditions could be found in Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*, a work that Eastman translated and praised highly as a “prodigious feat of intellect.” To the readers of *Harper's* Eastman showed just how sensitive he was to “social forces” when he described Trotsky's brilliant mode of explanation:

The amount of free and fluid judgment he achieves within the framework of a rationalistic metaphysics is amazing—a tribute to his dexterity and the ingenuity of old Hegel. His sustained sense of human society as a process rather than a thing—the real wisdom concealed under the cant about “dialectic”—is also admirable. I find much truth too in his concrete demonstrations of the results of Russia's backwardness, and much empirical good sense in his insistence upon the interdependence of the nations in any basic economic change they make. The idea of capitalist encirclement and the war danger—used by Stalinists to “blackmail the intellectuals and keep down the workers,” as James T. Farrell truly says—is used by Trotsky with honesty and a just sense of its significance.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, Eastman remained unconvinced by Trotsky's essential thesis—that Russia's isolation as a proletarian power and her “backward technic of production” accounted for the degeneration of the Revolution and the emergence of Stalinism. Such an explanation ignored fundamental problems of human behavior that could hardly be dismissed as mere “survivals in a backward country of a ‘petty-bourgeois psychology.’” Above all, confronted with the mutation of Marxist sociology by the unexpected growth of Soviet bureaucracy, Trotsky refused to reconsider his Marxist philosophy of history. Hence Eastman questioned what Wilson felt he should have learned most from Marx: “the class analysis of historical happenings.” It was precisely this obsolete analysis that could not fully explain Stalinism, a phenomenon that developed out of novel historical conditions in which Marx's emphasis on property relations as the root of power no longer determined class behavior. Among American and European intellectuals, the problem of Soviet bureaucracy led to a search for the hidden defect in the whole history of communist theory and practice, the “original sin,” as Isaac Deutscher ironically put it, from which Stalinism took its malevolent birth.⁶⁸ Hook and Victor Serge located it in the centralizing tendencies of Lenin's theory of party dictatorship; Will Herberg and Bertram D. Wolfe returned

⁶⁶ See Arthur Schlesinger, jr.'s letter in the *AHR*, 78 (1973): 190–91.

⁶⁷ Max Eastman, “Russia and the Socialist Ideal,” *Harper's*, Mar. 1938, pp. 373–85.

⁶⁸ Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Outcast: Trotsky, 1929–1940*, 3 (Vintage ed.; New York, 1965): 436.

to Rosa Luxemburg for a critique of Bolshevik terrorism in 1918; Dwight Macdonald implicated Trotsky himself by bringing up the embarrassing Kronstadt affair; and Eastman, of course, could not resist going beyond 1918 and beyond Marx to Hegel, in whose "optimistic" philosophy of history lay the fatal flaw that presumably left every Marxist helpless before Stalin.⁶⁹

To a certain extent, Eastman did tend to engage in the genetic fallacy of tracing a political consequence to its philosophical origins in order to claim, as Wilson and Rahv expressed it, that "the fallacies of Marxism had by themselves wrecked the Leninist Revolution." The immediate issue between Eastman and Trotsky, however, was not what had destroyed the Revolution but what would save it, not the social conditions of backwardness that plagued Russia but the philosophical ideas that were still being invoked to restore Russia to her original revolutionary course. Insofar as Trotsky claimed to embody the heritage of Leninism, Eastman could rightly argue that in an ultimate sense it was indeed the "fallacies of Marxism" that prevented Trotsky from both understanding the historical significance of Stalinism and offering a political answer to it.

Trotsky's theory of Stalinism contains a historical explanation within which is embedded a philosophical solution. Drastically simplified, Trotsky's interpretation held that Stalinism must be seen as a temporary "Bonapartist" political phenomenon, an "episodic relapse" that, like the Thermidorean phase of the French Revolution, would be undermined by its own "social contradictions" and ultimately destroyed by the proletariat as it rises again to resume the second act of the unfinished October Revolution. Although he would modify aspects of his theory and revise his timetable in response to events, Trotsky never doubted that Stalin's Russia stood suspended at a momentous historical turning point, a "bureaucratic interval" that could lead backward to "capitalist restoration" or forward to socialist revolution. Everything depended upon the proletariat, and, equally important, upon the intellectuals' commitment to the creation of a Fourth International and

⁶⁹ "Violence, For and Against: A Symposium on Marx, Stalin, and Trotsky," *Common Sense*, 7 (Jan. 1938): 19-23. It might also be said that Eastman's own earlier defense of Lenin left him helpless before Stalin. Eastman had defended both Lenin's seizure of power and his method of party organization, and he cavalierly argued that a revolution had to be made because the transition to socialism was not inevitable. The question arises: if socialism is not inevitable, on what grounds may one defend a revolution made in its name? Whether or not Leninism begat Stalinism, clearly Lenin divorced the democratic ends of Marxism from the authoritarian methods of the Bolshevik party, thereby severing the "unity of theory and practice" and making power and success the standard for political action. In bringing to light the Hegelian content in Marxism, Eastman ignored completely the ethical and democratic foundations of Karl Marx's thought. Sidney Hook, to his credit, undertook before a hostile American public during the McCarthy era the thankless task of drawing the crucial distinction between the democratic traditions of Marxism and the authoritarian consequences of Leninism. (See Hook, *Marx and the Marxists: The Ambiguous Legacy* [Princeton, 1955].) Indeed, Eastman's earlier Leninism results in an embarrassing *cul-de-sac*, as I try to point out in a forthcoming study where I compare his views with those of Dos Passos and Burnham. The dilemma might be formulated in terms of a reversible equation: Marx plus Lenin equals Weber, that is, bureaucracy; Lenin minus Marx equals Mussolini, that is, revolution for revolution's sake, or mere *putschismo*.

their willingness to defend the Soviet Union as a "workers' state," which, however "deformed" and "betrayed," had succeeded in preserving the collectivization of property and the means of production, the historic victory of the Russian Revolution.⁷⁰

Many Old Left intellectuals in America could readily sympathize with Trotsky's opposition to Soviet totalitarianism, a stance that characterized all that was best and noble in a world that was asked to choose the bad against the worst, Stalin against Hitler. They could not agree that Stalinism, any more than fascism, would be brought down by a revolutionary proletariat whose historical mission was determined, not by a sociological analysis of its character, but solely by what Eastman called its "metaphysical position" in the Marxist scheme of philosophy. As the controversy developed, Trotsky realized that the sum and substance of the entire issue turned on the dialectical logic he employed both to affirm that the proletariat would break the "shell" of Stalinism and to deny that Russia's bureaucracy was an autonomous social stratum. He thus tried to draw Burnham into a debate over "The ABC of Materialist Dialectics." Burnham, the last of the "*literary Trotskists*," declined, stating "I stopped arguing about religion long ago." Trotsky could only reply glumly: "I once heard Max Eastman voice this same sentiment."⁷¹

On that note it could be said that for some American writers the intellectual cold war had begun. For Trotsky had called upon his followers to continue to resist Stalinism as "reactionary" and at the same time support Stalin's foreign policy in Eastern Europe as "progressive." This paradoxical proposition was offered not solely on the basis of Russia's national security, the rationale used a year earlier by Stalinists to excuse the nonaggression pact and, curiously, used two decades later by some New Left historians to excuse Yalta.⁷² Rather, it derived from a fantastic philosophy of history that could justify supporting Stalinism in Poland as revolutionary while continuing to oppose it in Russia as counterrevolutionary. At this critical point the issue of dialectical reasoning became almost a matter of life and death to Trotsky, for never did so much depend upon how the human mind perceived the unfolding nature of historical reality. He now plunged into intellectual history with all the passion, if not the sense of irony, of Perry Miller or Arthur O. Lovejoy as he tried to find in Aristotle and classical philosophy arguments to use against Eastman.⁷³ At the same time he

⁷⁰ Leon Trotsky, "The Soviet Union Today: The Workers State and the Question of Thermidore and Bonapartism," *New International*, 2 (July 1935): 116-22; *The Revolution Betrayed: What Is the Soviet Union and Where Is It Going*, tr. Max Eastman (Merit Publishers ed.; New York, 1965), 86-114, 231, 273-89, *passim*.

⁷¹ Eastman, "Russia and the Socialist Ideal," 382; Leon Trotsky, *In Defense of Marxism*, 6, 72.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 3-32; Deutscher, *The Prophet Outcast*, 3: 457-62; Robert James Maddox, *The New Left and the Origins of the Cold War* (Princeton, 1973).

⁷³ Trotsky's compelling argument and Eastman's interesting rebuttal suggests how important intellectual history can become even to historical materialists. Formal logic, Trotsky argued, pre-

wrote letter after letter from Coyoacan, Mexico, to the New York office of the Socialist Workers party in a desperate attempt to persuade his dwindling band of followers. Seemingly fighting a one-man war against the power of Stalin with the ideas of Hegel, confronted by the defection of the intellectuals in America, Trotsky remained convinced that the “dual” nature of Stalinism could be understood only if one maintained a dialectical interpretation of history:

It is not surprising that the theoreticians of the opposition who reject dialectical thought capitulate lamentably before the contradictory nature of the USSR. However the contradiction between the social basis laid down by the revolution, and the character of the caste which arose out of the degeneration of the revolution is not only an irrefutable historical fact but also a motor force. In our struggle for the overthrow of the bureaucracy we base ourselves on this contradiction.⁷⁴

Trotsky remained equally convinced that it was “Eastman and his ilk” who had corrupted the mind of a whole generation of American Marxist intellectuals to the point where it had lost the cognitive capacity to see “all things and phenomena in their continuous change” (but not the workers, who are “naturally inclined to dialectical thinking”). Since he held the epistemological key that would unlock the riddle of Stalinism, and since he saw himself as the last remaining revolutionary who possessed the Hegelian vision of history that would illuminate the meaning of events, Trotsky proceeded to instruct Americans on how to think and how not to think. “Dialectical training of mind, as necessary to a revolutionary as finger exercises to a pianist,” is superior to “pragmatism” and the “banalities of ‘common sense,’” wrote Trotsky, as he endeavored to show how the “housewife,”

vailed in the ancient classical world before man had knowledge of evolution. It was then believed that a thing cannot both be and not be, cannot be itself and that which it is not. But Aristotle's logic of identity ($A=A$) underwent a revolution when man became aware that reality is changing and not static. Once the universe was perceived as dynamic and evolutionary, Hegelian-Marxist thought was the only way man could understand the laws of development. Now the logic of contradiction replaced the logic of identity, for a thing was seen to be in the process of becoming that which it is not, of growing, changing, and transforming itself into something else. Indeed, Trotsky insisted with dialectical flourish, any other perception of reality would deny the existence of reality. For the antiquated axiom that “A is equal to A signifies that a thing is equal to itself if it does not change, that is, if it does not exist” (Trotsky, “A Petty-Bourgeois Opposition in the Socialist Workers Party,” *The New International*, 6 [1940]: 35–42). In response to Trotsky's exposition, Eastman pointed out that the idea of evolution was quite familiar to Aristotle in the writings of Thales, Anaximander, Xenophanes, and Anaxagoras, who were discussed in his chapters on metaphysics, and it was also familiar to the classical world of Heraclitus and Solon. Eastman then maintained—and here he may have pushed his argument too far—that formal logic had no ontological status. When the Greek philosopher declared that $A=A$, he was not writing a “science of being” but an approach to reasoning, “not talking about existent things but consistent thinking. . . . The principle, A equals A, means that if you are going to be rational, or in other words talk sense, the meaning of your terms must not shift while you are talking. You cannot even argue—as Trotsky does so skillfully in that paragraph—that all existence is a process, unless by existence you mean existence and by process process. You could not even state that a pound of sugar is always unequal to itself, unless the term pound of sugar remained identical in meaning with the term itself. That is what Aristotle perceived; that is what formal logic is about” (Eastman, *Marxism is it Science* [New York, 1940], 286–87).

⁷⁴ Trotsky, *In Defense of Marxism*, 53.

the "illiterate peasant woman," and the "fox" in the woods all demonstrated in their everyday behavior unconscious "Hegelian tendencies."⁷⁵

Trotsky believed World War II would be the ultimate test of his theory of Stalinism as a transitory episode about to explode, and he was prepared to concede that if the proletariat demonstrated its "congenital incapacity . . . of accomplishing the task placed upon it by the course of development, nothing would remain except openly to recognize that the socialist program, based on the internal contradictions of capitalist society, ended as Utopia."⁷⁶ Trotsky did not live to see the death of the very dream to which he dedicated his whole political life, and his former followers were left to face Stalinism alone, without the historical certainties that Marxism had once guaranteed them. Stalinism, then, not "communism," was the terror and the mystery of the anti-Stalinist Old Left. And in a curious way, writers like Eastman, Hook, and Burnham would continue to carry on their old struggle against Stalinism unencumbered by the intellectual legacy of Trotskyism—the myth of the dialectic and its philosophical counterpart, the proletariat.⁷⁷ Whatever the merits of their later attitudes toward the cold war in Europe and Asia, and however questionable the process by which anti-Stalinism may have grown into a morally indiscriminate crusade to defend a democratically illegitimate "free world," the dissolution of these twin myths was necessary. Stripped of its mystical "motor force" and mysterious power of self-negation, history could now be studied on its own terms,

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 50, 54, 83. After delving into Aristotle to refute Eastman, Trotsky embraced the entire universe in his "Open Letter to Comrade Burnham": "Every individual is a dialectician to some extent or other, in most cases, unconsciously. A housewife knows that a certain amount of salt flavors soup agreeably, but that added salt makes the soup unpalatable. Consequently, an illiterate peasant woman guides herself in cooking soup by the Hegelian law of the transformation of quantity into quality. Similar examples from daily life could be cited without end. Even animals arrive at their practical conclusions not only on the basis of the Aristotelian syllogism but also on the basis of the Hegelian dialectic. Thus a fox is aware that quadrupeds and birds are nutritious and tasty. On sighting a hare, a rabbit, or a hen, a fox concludes: this particular creature belongs to the tasty and nutritive type, and—chases after the prey. We have here a complete syllogism, although the fox, we may suppose, never read Aristotle. When the same fox, however, encounters the first animal which exceeds it in size, for example, a wolf, it quickly concludes that quantity passes into quality, and turns to flee. Clearly, the legs of a fox are equipped with Hegelian tendencies, even if not fully conscious ones. All this demonstrates, in passing, that our methods of thought, both formal logic and the dialectic, are not arbitrary constructions of our reason but rather expressions of the actual inter-relationships in nature itself. In this sense, the universe throughout is permeated with 'unconscious' dialectics. But nature did not stop there. No little development occurred before nature's inner relationships were converted into the language of the consciousness of foxes and men, and man was then enabled to generalize these forms of consciousness and transform them into logical (dialectical) categories, thus creating the possibility for probing more deeply into the world about us" (Trotsky, *In Defense of Marxism*, 84). This fantastic discussion, which suggests a structure of mind in nature mediated through forms of language and behavior, could make Trotsky something of a precursor of French Structuralism. As Carl Becker might have said, not being a fox, I'm in no position to judge.

⁷⁶ Leon Trotsky, "The U.S.S.R. in War," *The New Internationalist*, 5 (1939): 327.

⁷⁷ Eastman and Hook still believed in working-class struggle, which is not to be confused with the "proletariat." The former is a reality that can be studied in historical and sociological terms; the latter is an idea rooted in Marx's dialectical scheme of thought, a concept that can neither be affirmed nor refuted empirically, and hence better described as "philosophical." See Ralf Dahrendorf, *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society* (Stanford, 1959), 27–32.

without the deceptive consolations of philosophy, and Soviet totalitarianism could be faced squarely as a permanent reality that had defied the author of “permanent revolution.”

Thus Eastman’s original philosophical quarrel with Marx ended with Trotsky. Once championed as Lenin’s rightful heir, Trotsky was now regarded as the last heroic antagonist to Stalin, tragically continuing his struggle with nothing left save a philosophy of history “saturated with optimism.”⁷⁸ Ironically, the “metaphysical illusions” that Eastman believed Lenin had purged from Marxism re-emerged in the mind of Trotsky, whose entire edifice of belief in the meaning of events in Europe lay ultimately in the dialectic, and whose valiant but desperate hopes for the Fourth International would lie ultimately in ruins on the battlefields and in the concentration camps of World War II—history’s answer to Hegel.

⁷⁸ Eastman, “Russia and the Socialist Ideal,” 382.

United States Intervention Abroad: The First Quarter Century

A Review Article by RICHARD M. ABRAMS

ROBERT JAMES MADDOX. *William E. Borah and American Foreign Policy*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1969. Pp. xx, 272. \$7.50.

WALTER V. SCHOLES and MARIE V. SCHOLES. *The Foreign Policies of the Taft Administration*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1970. Pp. 259. \$9.50.

ROSS GREGORY. *The Origins of American Intervention in the First World War*. (The Norton Essays in American History.) New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1971. Pp. xi, 162. \$6.95.

JAMES H. HITCHMAN. *Leonard Wood and Cuban Independence, 1898-1902*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1971. Pp. x, 238. 34 gls.

ROGER R. TRASK. *The United States Response to Turkish Nationalism and Reform, 1914-1939*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1971. Pp. 280. \$11.50.

HANS SCHMIDT. *The United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1971. Pp. x, 303. \$10.00.

JOHN SILVERLIGHT. *The Victors' Dilemma: Allied Intervention in the Russian Civil War*. New York: Weybright and Talley. 1970. Pp. xxiii, 392. \$10.00.

JOSEPH S. TULCHIN. *The Aftermath of War: World War I and U.S. Policy toward Latin America*. New York: New York University Press. 1971. Pp. vii, 287. \$10.00.

ROBERT FREEMAN SMITH. *The United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico, 1916-1932*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1972. Pp. xv, 288. \$12.00.

"THERE ARE MOMENTS in reading a novel or seeing a play by Dos Passos," wrote Edmund Wilson in 1929 (still within Wilson's progressive period and Dos Passos's radical years), "when one finds oneself ready to rush to the defense of even the American bathroom, even the Ford car—which after all, one begins to reflect, have perhaps done as much to rescue us from help-

lessness, ignorance, and squalor as the prophets of revolution."¹ These days, some of the more popular accounts of United States foreign policies may inspire similar reflection. The most recent revisionist school of United States diplomatic history—chiefly William Appleman Williams, some of his students, and now some of their students—has produced what may already have become the new orthodoxy, wherein the imperialist expansion of the United States appears indistinguishable from that of any other Western power. One should probably credit the national traumas of the past decade more than the power of the revisionists' logic for this development. In any event, one now finds John K. Fairbank, once one of the pillars of establishment historiography, writing:

The Chinese image of us may be more accurate than we like to think. . . . [As] the Chinese Communists have long claimed . . . the Western powers . . . were a single pack of invaders, mutually quarrelsome but united in their aggressiveness. . . . Since we have been a part of the expanding West, and have been a party to many kinds of dirty work in East Asia in the past, we should recognize our crimes of today as merely more of the same.²

Like Fairbank, most American students of foreign policy find it impossible to write with confidence that "basically" or "on the whole" Americans have conducted their overseas affairs with exceptional regard for human decencies and liberal principles. With the specter of the Vietnam horror weighing oppressively upon them, they have come to regard as especially repulsive the moral presumption that has typified American obtrusiveness overseas from the beginning of the twentieth century and before. No doubt this is as it should be. And yet there is implicit a strong tendency to substitute a new kind of blindness for the old.

In the present atmosphere it has become apparently sufficient in condemnation of United States policies merely to demonstrate that the United States sought to use its influence abroad in its own interest—or for that matter, anyone else's. "One of the basic concerns of United States policy-makers from 1920 to 1941," writes Robert Freeman Smith for his readers' expected delectation, "was the establishment and maintenance of a world order which would be conducive to the prosperity and power of the United States."³ One is evidently supposed to acknowledge that what is good for

¹ Edmund Wilson, "Dos Passos and the Social Revolution," Apr. 17, 1929, in his *A Literary Chronicle* (New York, 1952), 131.

² John K. Fairbank, "'American China Policy' to 1898: A Misconception," *Pacific Historical Review*, 39 (1970): 415–16, 420.

³ Robert Freeman Smith, "American Foreign Relations, 1920–1942," in Barton J. Bernstein, ed., *Towards a New Past* (New York, 1969), 237, a volume of the Vietnam era designed to expose the nefarious sides of American history. To be sure Smith and his cohorts were engaged in answering George F. Kennan's "Realistic" approach to United States foreign policy, first laid out in his *American Diplomacy* (New York, 1951). At that time Kennan was dismayed that American policy makers seemed to believe they could control foreign developments merely by adopting unrealistic postures, without reckoning on the need to use power. In pressing his argument that success in foreign policy depends on the ability and willingness to use force as a last resort when vital interests are at stake, Kennan tended to overstate the impractical "ideal-

United States prosperity and power must be bad for the rest of the world, if not bad for the American people as well. The Vietnam debacle stands as obvious proof. But earlier examples abound. In fact the whole history of the nation's expansion serves revisionists to illustrate the point. "The radical perspective," writes Lloyd C. Gardner, a self-declared radical, "sees the development of America's world view as a logical result of national expansion."⁴ It is no postindustrial matter. As Professor Williams has recently discovered, expansionism thrived among the agrarian classes even before industrialism blighted American shores. The twig was bent virtually from the start. The American farmer, Williams says, "actively and causally related his freedom in the marketplace with his personal political and social freedom." This led the farmer not only to assume that the world's markets must be open to him for his own welfare but "to defend and justify . . . expansion on the grounds that it extended the freedom of all men."⁵ The error in this reasoning is supposed to be obvious. In any event, the reasoning was perpetuated through the age of industrialism, which magnified the consequences.

Thus liberalism and "private-enterprise capitalism," which revisionists assume, in common with the American right wing, are mutually dependent, have led the United States to reach out with presumptuous if not hypocritical benevolence toward supposedly benighted countries all over the world and to saddle them with pernicious economic structures and oppressive regimes. The United States has also opposed all kinds of beneficent social revolutions, such as the Russian, Mexican, and Chinese, which, in Williams's words, have actually represented twentieth-century efforts to reassert "the ideals of a self-defined and controlled commonwealth based on social property that [in the West] had characterized one wing of Christianity and the English Revolution."⁶ Robert Heilbroner meanwhile has ventured to speculate that whatever the costs in mayhem and massacre, communist revolution may well be the only road to "modernization" for the suffering masses of the undeveloped world and thus in the long run and on balance would likely prove less costly for humanity than would continuation along the present course.⁷ In sum, we should mind our own business; we should, according to Professor Williams, "give the other . . . peoples of the world a

ism" of past United States diplomacy. His revisionist critics, in their eagerness for irony, have tended to exaggerate the degree to which Kennan or anyone else has ever believed Americans neglected their power and prosperity in setting foreign-policy objectives. In any event, no one can seriously deny that United States policy makers sought to influence—or "control"—international developments so as to enhance American prosperity and power. Why else make policy?

⁴ Lloyd C. Gardner, "American Foreign Policy, 1900-1921: A Second Look at the Realist Critique of American Diplomacy," in Bernstein, *Towards a New Past*, 226.

⁵ William Appleman Williams, *The Roots of the Modern American Empire* (New York, 1969), xxiii.

⁶ William Appleman Williams, *The Contours of American History* (Chicago, 1966), 423.

⁷ Robert Heilbroner, "Counter-revolutionary America," *Commentary*, Apr. 1967, pp. 31-38. Although Heilbroner does not recommend communist revolution for solving the social problems of the West, many revisionists are not so squeamish.

chance to make their own history by acting on our own responsibility to make our own history. If that be isolationism, then the time has come to make the most of it.”⁸

All this makes one want to rush with Edmund Wilson back to the American bathroom. Apart from doubting that such an ideal as Williams mentions aptly applies to any of the major social and political events this century has witnessed, one cringes before the image of the world’s masses organized and modernized but without traditions or institutions that might cultivate tolerance and individuality. One feels impelled, at the hazard of tedium, to review the struggle for individual liberty against the power of community and state; to recount in detail the difficult, inconclusive evolution of personal freedom and human dignity—and the role private property played in that development—against the claims made upon the individual by communal and political assertions of Truth, Morality, and the Higher Justice. Not that these considerations represent the sum of a program for resolving modern problems. But, as Barrington Moore has protested, it is clear that “any future society which does not preserve and extend historic liberal achievements will be another nightmare.”⁹

Beyond this one has to wonder at the moral pretension of the “mind our own business” posture. Given the wretched performance of American power in the recent past, a recommendation that the United States cultivate its own garden has an obvious immediate appeal. But one could claim that most of the socially disorganized and economically undeveloped places in the world have suffered from neglect by the United States as readily as one could argue that they have suffered from its domination.¹⁰ It may be true, as it is asserted according to good Leninist doctrine on imperialism, that the “liberal-capitalist” economy requires overseas markets for surplus product and capital, but it is well known that throughout the twentieth century the preponderance of the American surplus has gone to Canada and Europe, that is, to other affluent, predominantly capitalist countries. If the impoverished peoples of the earth are ever to lift themselves out of their distress in the reasonably near future, they can do so only with the active assistance of the affluent. This argues not that the United States mind its own business but that it mind that its business be more intelligent, generous, and farsighted than it has characteristically been in the past.

THE LATTER COURSE is not likely to appeal to those contented with the shallow reasoning of outrage or attracted by the polemical advantages of nega-

⁸ Williams, *Roots of the Modern American Empire*, xxiv.

⁹ Barrington Moore, Jr., *Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery* (Boston, 1972), 135n.; see also 112–13.

¹⁰ Robert Zevin, “An Interpretation of American Imperialism,” *Journal of Economic History*, 32 (1972): 316–60, especially 346; Michael Harrington, “American Power in the Twentieth Century,” in Irving Howe, ed., *A Dissenter’s Guide to Foreign Policy* (New York, 1968), 29–30; Moore, *Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery*, 114–16, 123–24.

tivism. Whenever, and at any time to whomever, the flaws of American society appear larger than its virtues, these attitudes have been beguiling. In the 1920s and early 1930s, another era of the disenchantment of intellectuals with the promise of American life, revisionism also gained high stature. In 1928 Harry Elmer Barnes, to choose only one, said about everything the present radical historians have been saying, though with more controlled hyperbole and a greater self-consciousness over flattened distinctions among various forms of "imperialism."¹¹ Political negativists enjoyed great popularity in those days.

Senator William E. Borah's warnings against international involvement throughout the same era now reappear in revisionist works. The great naysayer from Idaho resided in the Senate for thirty-three years, a period that spanned both world wars. In all that time he was a model isolationist, or at least so it seemed whenever taking positive steps toward international amity in some way involved United States cooperation with Europe. Borah attacked Woodrow Wilson's neutrality policies as pro-Allies (though he voted for the declaration of war), led the extremist "irreconcilables" in the fight against the League, fought the World Court with bulldog tenacity for fifteen years, and in tandem with Senator Hiram Johnson of California did more than anyone else throughout the twenties and thirties to paralyze efforts toward virtually all kinds of international agreements. In taking such positions Borah usually employed the rhetoric of democratic insurgency, which possibly is only to place him as a politician whose roots lay deep in the Progressive era. In any event, his denunciation of the League as an imperialist plot (although it was the British imperialists he most hated) and a conspiracy among the international bankers has, for some, made him something of a modern hero, as has the fact that he carried on a sustained campaign for full diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union from 1919 until it was achieved in 1933.¹²

¹¹ We have always been an imperialist nation, wrote Barnes. "The growth of our country has been, in one sense, the record of imperialist efforts and successes . . . [a] record of continually expanding frontiers. . . . Excess capital . . . developed a greater need for markets overseas," which Americans tended to rationalize as "advancing the cause of human justice." The pattern varies, said Barnes, "because the bankers and merchants [often] feel that they can carry on their activities to better effect without the embarrassment of political friction." By and large the United States showed the "more refined developments in imperialist enterprise"; its capitalists generally "deplore and eschew . . . crude political and military force and prefer to rely upon . . . complete economic ascendancy." Barnes concluded, "This is less repulsive . . . than wholesale slaughter by marines, but it may also be much more potent than physical force in the establishment of a permanent economic hegemony." In one respect Barnes had the advantage on most of the current radical critics. He noted that there was no reason to assume that socialist countries would be any less imperialistic than capitalist countries. Barnes, introd. to Leland H. Jenks, *Our Cuban Colony* (New York, 1928), viii-xi.

¹² Thus William Appleman Williams argues that Woodrow Wilson's preference for reform and his hostility to revolution "in Russia, central and eastern Europe, China, and Mexico . . . very probably turned a crucial handful of Progressives like Hiram Johnson of California, William Borah of Idaho, and Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin irrevocably against Wilson's League of Nations Treaty." *Contours of American History*, 423. The "very probably" covers a good deal of wishful thinking! See also Williams's *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (2d ed.; New York, 1972), 122-27.

Unfortunately for Borah's admirers, Robert Maddox's close-up study of the man, *William E. Borah and American Foreign Policy*, shows him to be a poor champion for any cause. Borah was a negativist in nearly pure form. He always functioned best in opposition: ever fretful of the dangers of doing anything, "able to predict catastrophic possibilities undreamed of by others" (p. 8), he was an insurgent whose main ability, said Theodore Roosevelt, was "to insurg" (p. xix). In a word, Borah was an obstructionist. He could score a point against the League by arguing, among many other things, that Article 10 would appear to commit the United States to preserve reactionary regimes against hypothetical insurgents throughout the world, but in the case of at least one genuine nationalist revolution, the Mexican, he coauthored with Robert La Follette a Senate resolution urging a punitive expedition south of the border just as the Wilson administration began straining to keep American jingoism in check. Similarly Borah was among the first to demand intervention against the Bolsheviks,¹³ but he changed his mind just as Wilson was about to yield to Allied pressures and to anxieties over Japanese expansion into Siberia.

Maddox says Borah "disliked imperialism on principle and because he believed it produced insoluble dilemmas" (p. 7). From Maddox's evidence the latter seems the more important of the two. "Borah's usual caution," Maddox adds, "did evaporate at times over matters involving national 'honor'" (p. 15)—or, as Maddox suggests elsewhere, when it offered the possibility of political advantage.¹⁴ So when Woodrow Wilson tried early in 1915 to stop the drift toward military intervention in Mexico that his original posture toward Huerta and Carranza had begun, Borah decided it was time to reverse his own misgivings about intervention to demand that the United States protect American "defenders of the flag" across the border even if force were required. And while Wilson strove to cool enflamed emotions during the *Lusitania* crisis, Borah overcame his initial view that Americans were altogether too concerned with the welfare of the British and French imperialists and began wondering aloud "just how long rhetoric will suffice" and if protests were "the only method left for the defense of the rights of American citizens" (p. 16). In 1916 he exhausted himself stumping the country for Charles Evans Hughes, who, he believed, would take a more "honorable" position against the Mexican transgressors.

Even the change in Borah's attitude toward international agreements supposedly signified by his support of the naval disarmament conferences

¹³ Maddox seems to have uncovered this little-known fact independently (*Borah and American Foreign Policy*, 37-38), though the point is also documented by Phillip S. Gillette, "The Political Origins of American-Soviet Trade, 1917-1924" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1969), 69.

¹⁴ Borah never neglected his ambition to become president, nor did he abstain from petty Republican partisanship. He declined to support Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 despite much insurgent bombast; in 1916 he campaigned for Hughes against Wilson; and in 1924 he again chose to go it alone for re-election to the Senate though offered the chance to support the insurgent third-party candidacy of Robert La Follette for president.

and the Kellogg-Briand Peace Treaty had more appearance than reality. "Actually," says Maddox, "Borah had experienced no conversion, *for at the time* he predicated his conduct on the assumption that a naval conference would not succeed and very likely never would convene" (p. 88). Meanwhile Borah's support for the "Outlawry of War" pact proved "gall and wormwood" for its promoters, who too late discovered that "by employing Outlawry against the proposals of others and by exaggerating the importance of ephemeral achievements such as the Kellogg-Briand Pact" Borah successfully diverted all movement toward committing the United States to any action on behalf of anything at all.¹⁵

In all, Borah probably had much in common with most nationalists of his day, including especially their racial preconceptions. His opposition to overseas commitments seems to have been that of a man so certain of the unique superiority of his "race" that he could never find it worthwhile to try to do anything for lesser peoples. It was too risky; it created "insoluble dilemmas" whereby (in the phrase he used most often) "the logic of events" would entangle the nation in unforetold difficulties and distract it from the things it ought to be doing for itself. It was never a question of balancing the costs, to the nation and to humanity, of specific kinds of international commitments. Since Borah believed that only "the Anglo-Saxon race" had the necessary temperament and traditions for self-government, in his view involvement abroad could offer nothing constructive to foreign peoples—even to the Europeans who were retrograde beyond redemption.

Like many American isolationists, especially from Far Western states, Borah did not intend his caveats against foreign expansion to apply to the Pacific. A sometimes outspoken and always underlying racial hostility to the Japanese inspired his attitude. Although he usually assailed economic justifications for an expansive foreign policy, the growth of Japanese power in the Far East raised in his view the specter of an America "shut in and circumscribed, . . . our markets glutted, labor underpaid and discontented . . . and other things of which I do not care to prophesize."¹⁶ To meet the Japanese challenge he joined with American expansionists in advocating a big navy. Early in 1918 he was quick to urge sending American troops to Siberia to deter Japanese incursions there while the White and Red Russians fought it out.

Emergent Japanese power after 1900 posed many kinds of problems for American policy makers. Initially welcomed as a counterweight to Russian power, it quickly became a threat in itself. Racist and labor-union hostility on the West Coast complicated matters. So, too, on the other hand, did the commitment of Americans to liberal values. For however practical

¹⁵ Maddox, *Borah and American Foreign Policy*, 182. See also John Chalmers Vinson, *William E. Borah and the Outlawry of War* (Athens, Ga., 1957), and Marian C. McKenna, *Borah* (Ann Arbor, 1961); both make a point of Borah's "conversion."

¹⁶ Borah, quoted in Jerry Israel, *Progressivism and the Open Door: America and China, 1905-1921* (Pittsburgh, 1971), 129-30.

it might have been to develop an accommodation with Japan, Japanese truculence in China offended too many sensibilities in the United States to make that accommodation politically feasible. Theodore Roosevelt had favored it. "Our vital interest," he wrote to President Taft in 1910, "is to keep the Japanese out of our country and at the same time to preserve the good will of Japan." He was even willing to sacrifice the Open Door policy for the purpose, especially since he recognized that "the 'open-door' policy, as a matter of fact, completely disappears as soon as a powerful nation determines to disregard it, and is willing to run the risk of war rather than forego its intention." In 1911 Roosevelt apparently told Lord Grey, Canada's governor-general, that the Western powers must not interfere with Japan's "natural expansion" onto the Asian continent, that indeed unless Japan were permitted, even encouraged, to go into Manchuria, it would mean trouble on the American and Canadian Pacific Coast.¹⁷ In fact on at least three occasions before 1920 the United States candidly acknowledged that "territorial contiguity creates special relations" between Japan and China's northeastern territories.¹⁸ Meanwhile important segments of the American financial community expressed their preference for working with the Japanese toward developing economic opportunities in the Far East.¹⁹

The Taft administration, however, chose to act on the precepts of "dollar diplomacy," which it was promoting vigorously in Latin America as well. In characteristic fashion Taft and his equally lethargic and maladroit secretary of state, Philander Knox, bungled the whole operation. "By deciding to strengthen China rather than to conciliate Japan," say Walter and Marie Scholes in *The Foreign Policies of the Taft Administration*, "Taft and Knox reversed Roosevelt's policy and ignored his advice" (p. 247). They abandoned Open Door policy in favor of bidding for exclusive American or Anglo-American concessions—which was only to acknowledge that the Open Door doctrine made little sense when applied to mining, railroads, and utilities operations, and to exclusive financial arrangements as well. Taft and Knox misconstrued Britain's willingness to support the United States. And most significant, they miscalculated the eagerness of American financiers to engage in Far Eastern ventures. When Taft left

¹⁷ Theodore Roosevelt to Taft, Dec. 22, 1910, and Grey to Bryce, Jan. 20, 1911, quoted in Scholes and Scholes, *Foreign Policies of the Taft Administration*, 121, 122n.

¹⁸ The quotation is from William Jennings Bryan, then secretary of state, to the Japanese ambassador, Mar. 13, 1915, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1915* (Washington, 1924), 111. The message was drafted by Lansing and plainly foreshadows the language of the Lansing-Ishii agreement two years later.

¹⁹ See, for example, Israel, *Progressivism and the Open Door*, especially 55-56, 129-30, 151, 167; see also Cyrus Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff: Life & Letters* (London, 1929), 1: 19-20, 211-43; 2: 261-62; *Journal of the American-Asiatic Association*, 16 (1916): 53-54; on the Lansing-Ishii agreement, see issues of the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Journal of Commerce*, and the *Bankers Magazine* throughout November 1917; finally, see Frank A. Vanderlip, "Japanese Trip-1920," especially memorandum dated May 1, 1920, Vanderlip Papers, Columbia University Special Collections, box D-52.

office the American bankers he had pushed into the Consortium went to President-elect Wilson to tell him they had little desire to continue. Wilson made his ringing repudiation of the Consortium two weeks later.

The Scholeses' study of the foreign policy of the Taft administration is probably most stimulating in its treatment of the Far East and somewhat less than captivating in its other chapters. Although founded in substantial original research, including the use of British manuscript collections, the book presents little that has not appeared in print before. The authors rely heavily on Dana Munro, for instance, for their discussion of the Caribbean countries, and they generally are not so informative as he. P. Edward Haley's treatment of Mexico, which the authors could not have seen, is far the better, especially in showing that Taft was less trigger happy, though no less obtuse, than the Scholeses portray him as being.²⁰ Still, their book offers a convenient synthesis of the four-year period that led up to the more crucial developments of the Wilson era.

Among other things, the Scholeses' special focus makes it possible to see again the distinction between Taft's policies and those of Wilson's administration, a distinction that historians have lately tended to minimize in their eagerness to demonstrate that neither the Republican nor the Democratic president viewed revolutionary socialism with much favor. Taft was unabashed and forthright in his ambition to promote American business enterprise abroad. It was not that he was a tool of Wall Street; in fact Wall Street appears to have had little enthusiasm for Taft's schemes. Rather, precisely as in his domestic policies, Taft could imagine no way of building a progressive society except by relying on the leadership of private business. The Wilson administration, as indicated by evidence presented in nearly all the studies under review, more clearly sought to use business interests for political purposes abroad. Of course the hopes of both Wilson and Taft that American business enterprise would have civilizing and liberalizing effects overseas might have had more of a chance if they had been tempered by the recognition that American business had too often demonstrated its barbaric side at home.

Although Taft was not above the kind of dissembling for which some of the more recent tenants of the White House have become notorious, one has to appreciate at least the man's candor—but perhaps “innocence” is really the better word—in his defense of using “dollars instead of bullets” on behalf of the nation's strategic and economic interests. “It is an effort,” he told Congress in 1912, “frankly directed to the increase of American trade . . . to preserve to the American people that free opportunity in foreign markets [will not soon be] . . . preempted through the more energetic efforts

²⁰ Dana Munro, *Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy in the Caribbean, 1900-1921* (Princeton, 1964); P. Edward Haley, *Revolution and Intervention: The Diplomacy of Taft and Wilson in Mexico, 1910-1917* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).

of other governments.”²¹ Defensive strategy, moreover, made it necessary to assure that a power vacuum in the Caribbean not attract foreign powers in the form either of economic domination, which would mean political control of the nations to the south, or the establishment of naval bases there. “In practical terms,” write the Scholeses, “dollar diplomacy meant economic intervention to stave off military intervention” (p. 35).

“But it did not rule out the use of bullets” (p. 36). Since as a federal judge in the 1890s Taft had been entirely willing to “shoot to kill” leaders of the Pullman strike, it is scarcely surprising that he should expect congenial approval in telling a Mexican envoy that he wished the United States might eventually gain some formal right to force a peace in Central America: “to have the right to knock their heads together until they should maintain peace” is the way he put it (p. 56). It remains refreshing, now that American presidents have got the habit of assuming absolute power to deploy the military abroad, that Taft felt inescapably constrained by the absence of a formal, legal sanction. Despite some gross saber rattling and a personal readiness to intervene—in Mexico, for example, after the overthrow of Porfirio Díaz—Taft refused to move because Congress gave him no authority to do so.

Taft never understood the virulence of the attacks on his diplomacy. In the early part of the century it was still axiomatic that governments had an obligation to promote and defend the economic interests of their citizens and that big powers should discipline smaller powers whose disorderliness became inconvenient. He ridiculed domestic opponents who thought there was something wrong with defending American capitalism abroad. Typically, Taft could not perceive the contemporary demands for changed political priorities. He failed even to acknowledge that his American critics were no less capitalistic than he. They had come to identify themselves, however, as the victims of the same big Eastern banking interests that would likely victimize the Latin Americans if Taft’s diplomacy succeeded. More than that, while promoting American banking abroad, dollar diplomacy appeared to offer no real relief from costly and embarrassing military interventions.

ONE PROBLEM WAS that the growth of American power and affluence brought not so much increased freedom but greater exposure to the vagaries of international events. By the turn of the century Americans were already significantly committed in the international economy; to a degree in Europe, indeed, that inspired anxiety there over “the American invasion.”²² This

²¹ William Howard Taft, Fourth Annual Message, Dec. 3, 1912, in Fred Israel, ed., *The State of the Union Messages of the Presidents, 1790–1966* (New York, 1967), 3: 2486–2542.

²² “Earlier, Europe had Europeanized the world, now so it seems, America wants to Americanize her motherlands.” Wilhelm von Polenz, *Das Land der Zukunft* (Berlin, 1903), 2. See also T. Lenschau, *Die Amerikanische Gefahr* (Berlin, 1902); F. A. McKenzie, *The American Invaders* (London, 1902); and Sir C. Furness, M.P., *The American Invasion* (London, 1902).

development was not the consequence of political intentions; in fact, insofar as United States policy makers had sought to influence American businessmen to expand abroad they pointed mostly across the Pacific and to the south, and with remarkable lack of success.²³ The American economic stakes abroad, such as they were, evolved from the growing strength of American industry, the sheer impetus of private business decisions, and most of all the force of opportunities beckoning. These stakes made the United States economically vulnerable, a fact that necessarily conditioned American sensitivities to international politics.

By 1914, as Ross Gregory remarks in his short, incisive essay, *The Origins of American Intervention in the First World War*, "the need to trade with Europe was so obvious that virtually no one gave thought to not doing so" (p. 43). "It was a rare American wage-earner who did not find his income changed by the conflict in Europe," says Gregory (p. 4). Never mind the bankers and munitions makers and export merchants. The war affected producers and wage earners in every category, from shoemakers in St. Louis to mechanics in Detroit, wheat growers in Kansas, and sharecroppers in Mississippi. These facts "made it inevitable that the United States, belligerent or not, would . . . find itself deeply affected by the European conflict. The government could take no stand on foreign policy that would not . . . have an impact on economic conditions in the United States."²⁴

But the power of the United States made Americans vulnerable to foreign events in more important ways. Demands of "honor" and "responsibility" do not usually fall on those without the means for effective action. No one seriously believed Norway or Switzerland was derelict for not forcefully intervening against "German barbarism." But the United States could not plead weakness; nor did it have the least inclination to do so. In the full flush of confidence over the evident success of their political and economic systems, Americans could hardly have resisted the temptation—or, as they usually put it, could not avoid the responsibility—to export those systems whenever the opportunity might arise. If it appeared to some a monumental conceit, and if it too often took on the form of mere cant, to most contemporaries the obligations of power seemed too manifest for dispute.

As Gregory sees it, although economic concerns influenced the tactics of the American response to the European crisis, so, too, did Wilson's deter-

²³ See, for example, Paul A. Varg, "The Myth of the China Market, 1890-1914," *American Historical Review*, 73 (1967-68): especially 754; Noel Pugach, "Making the Open Door Work: Paul S. Reinsch in China, 1913-1919," *Pacific Historical Review*, 38 (1969): 157-75, especially 174; Mira Wilkins, *The Emergence of Multinational Enterprise: American Business Abroad from the Colonial Era to 1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), *passim*; Cleona Lewis, *America's Stake in International Investments* (Washington, 1938), *passim*; Hitchman, *Leonard Wood and Cuban Independence*, especially 65, 68, 74; Munro, *Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy*, 535-37.

²⁴ Gregory, *Origins of American Intervention*, 4. With the revisionist critique in mind, Gregory adds: "If such thoughts suggest that the United States was influenced by the needs of an expanding capitalist economy, so let it be. It is by no means certain that another economic structure would have made much difference" (p. 132). See also Moore, *Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery*, 132.

mination to imprint liberal principles on the postwar world. One can add that although it would be too much to say that most Americans felt the same determination—most people, after all, are determined only on their own immediate interests—they followed his lead with obvious enthusiasm. Whatever the second thoughts inspired by the peacemaking debacle coming on top of the devaluation of liberalism on the home front, the European horror of 1914–17 “strengthened feeling in the United States that American interests coincided with world interests” (p. 138). The United States did not enter the world war to prevent the defeat of Britain or France, or to protect American big business and the loans to the Allies, or to preserve American security. It was not that Wilson was indifferent to these matters, says Gregory. Rather he regarded them as worth little immediate concern, whereas the standing of the United States in the world, both morally and materially, was most plainly at issue.

The very efforts to avoid entanglement abroad brought greater commitments that seemed to limit the country’s options. This was especially true in the Caribbean area, where until World War I policy centered on providing security for the new American trade and naval route through the Panama Canal. As the policy makers saw it, the chief menace to that security lay in the corruption and instability of the Caribbean governments, which invited European intervention and, potentially at least, the establishment of foreign military footholds there. To obviate this threat the United States proposed to “guarantee” political stability and fiscal responsibility, by force if necessary but preferably—due to the imperatives of American liberal principles—by replacing the typically autocratic military governments and elitist social systems with American-style institutions. To further remove incentives for European intervention the State Department worked toward eventually replacing European financial interests with American in the Caribbean countries. It was characteristic of the Progressive era that the policy makers miscalculated their ability to achieve the desired results. “So long as the United States took upon itself the responsibility for order and stability in the Caribbean,” writes Joseph Tulchin in *The Aftermath of War*, “the government seemed powerless to avoid the escalation of American involvement” (p. 5). Yet the United States scarcely had a choice. As C. Neale Ronning observes: “The political and economic power of the United States is so great that anything it *does* or *does not do* in relation to another American republic influences the political affairs of that republic.”²⁵ The issue never was whether to use influence abroad, but how.

The case of Cuba offers an example. The United States had helped Cuba gain its independence from Spain, and a mixture of idealism and self-interest dictated that the United States subsequently use its influence to stabilize the island’s politics. In David F. Healy’s cogent words, “To go to war [in 1898] for the purpose of changing the Cuban situation, and at the

²⁵ C. Neale Ronning, *Law and Politics in Inter-American Diplomacy* (New York, 1963), 84.

same time to renounce all influence over that situation [as the Teller Amendment required], did not appear to be a rational proceeding.”²⁶ An unstable Cuba might, without interposition by the United States, become prey once again to the domination of some European power, which could thus jeopardize U.S. security. Instability, moreover, was scarcely conducive to the economic development that Cuba needed and foreign (i.e., American) investors might share.

In consequence United States policy makers contrived the Platt Amendment. As James H. Hitchman says in *Leonard Wood and Cuban Independence*, “In a day when European nations carved colonies out of Africa and concessions out of China, the Platt Amendment was not merely a clever way to establish a protectorate; the men who framed it expected Cuba to become a free, independent republic which would not cause the United States serious anxiety” (p. 131). In Wood’s analysis the United States almost certainly would have to intervene if the Cubans failed to maintain order and honor their foreign debts; he expected it would hold the Cubans steadfast to maintaining stability if they knew in advance, by the formal prescriptions of the Platt Amendment, that profligacy or irresponsibility would bring United States troops.

Wood did not reckon on some Cubans using that commitment to serve their own political purposes. Both incumbent and insurgent factions could, and would, use American intervention—the promise, or the fact—in the hope of turning an unfavorable political situation to their own advantage. Allan Reed Millett has shown how Theodore Roosevelt was drawn into Cuba precisely for that reason in 1906.²⁷ The interventions in Nicaragua, Honduras, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and to some degree in Haiti during the Taft, Wilson, and Coolidge administrations would all have much of the same character. The very fact that Latin American countries came to believe that no government could easily survive without at least the passive approval of the United States both enhanced the power of the United States to influence events and tended necessarily to involve the United States in every critical factional dispute.

IT IS INTERESTING to compare the treatment of the first Cuban occupation by David Healy on the one hand and by James Hitchman on the other, the one a “Wisconsin product,” like William Appleman Williams a former

²⁶ David F. Healy, *The United States in Cuba, 1898–1902: Generals, Politicians and the Search for Policy* (Madison, 1963), 208.

²⁷ See Allan Reed Millett, *The Politics of Intervention: The Military Occupation of Cuba, 1906–1909* (Columbus, 1968): “Roosevelt . . . failed to realize how inaccurate one of his basic assumptions was: that the Cubans would compromise their differences rather than turn the island over to the United States to govern again” (p. 80). Said the insurgent leader, Ernesto Asbert: “We prefer a new American intervention that will guarantee future legal elections. . . . We would much rather trust Roosevelt than [President Estrada] Palma” (p. 61).

student of Fred Harrington, the other a Ph.D. from Berkeley.²⁸ Both studies are excellently researched, and their data are not very different. But their different objectives show plainly through. Healy stresses the economic elements in the American interest in Cuba, even when he concludes from the evidence that altogether different imperatives guided United States policy. Although "American business interests soon got all they wanted in Cuba," he says, during the occupation "it is clear that political factors were of more immediate importance than any other."²⁹ Hitchman confirms the secondary importance of economic matters as he focuses on the essentially idealistic motivations of Wood's military administration. Wood, he concludes, was "a reformer with high ideals and integrity who wanted free men to develop themselves and their society" (p. 212). While noting that no American government could ignore its businessmen's interests, Hitchman points out that Cuba's economy had been dominated by foreigners long before the United States arrived there and that for the period of the occupation American businessmen showed a remarkable lack of interest in the place. One can add that the country had been saddled since the 1860s with a crippling staple-crop economy based mostly on sugar. Wood's administration at least worked to discourage financial arrangements that might be exploitive.

In discussing the Cuban Reciprocity Treaty, Healy makes sure the reader sees the element of "control" it gave the United States. He admits that it never fulfilled exporters' hopes (such as they were?). But, "by tying Cuba's principal export crop to the American market, and by keeping the marketing conditions subject to its control, the United States government gained an influence in Cuba more enduring than that based on the terms of the Platt Amendment."³⁰ Hitchman, too, says that reciprocity, like the occupation before it, had strategic and political objectives that outweighed economic ones. But Hitchman's point, as important as it should be obvious, is that Cuba's subordination to the United States must be attributed primarily to Cuba's endemic political and economic weaknesses. American industrial ascendancy and the two nations' proximity alone would have limited Cuban options in any event. "Reciprocity," he writes, "was forced not upon the Cubans, but upon Congress and domestic sugar interests" (p. 211). Furthermore the special political and economic ties between the United

²⁸ Healy, *United States in Cuba*. Hitchman acknowledges the inspiration and help of Professors Armin Rappaport, now at the University of California at San Diego, the late Raymond Sontag of the University of California at Berkeley, and Gerald E. Wheeler of San Jose State College.

²⁹ Healy, *United States in Cuba*, 211. This assertion is made rather irrelevantly, since Healy's research stops at 1902, leaving undetermined what the interests wanted and what "all" could mean.

³⁰ Healy, *United States in Cuba*, 206. Healy also remarks that some conservatives in the Senate evidently voted against reciprocity in the hope that defeat of the treaty would ruin the Cuban economy and force the Cubans to sue for annexation (p. 202). This does not appear to serve the argument that reciprocity treaties were a major instrument of American imperialism. But then the argument has a "heads I win, tails you lose" quality, so we need not get into it here.

States and Cuba evidently had no exceptional effect on the lure of the Cuban market for American exporters. As of 1925 the percentage of Cuban imports supplied by the United States was still smaller than that of Canada, Mexico, or any number of other Western Hemisphere countries, nor did the percentage grow remarkably faster than that for Canada during the period from 1900 to 1925.

Hitchman does not dispute the findings of revisionists such as Healy or Robert Freeman Smith that when United States policy makers perceived apparent conflicts between the objectives of national security and the development of Cuban self-government, the former got the nod;³¹ nor does he deny that American knaves and fools would later twist policies to the Cubans', and sometimes to the Americans', disadvantage. Such findings, however, may only serve to confirm Hitchman's view that "the premature termination of [the original] occupation was a crucial cause of the ultimate failure of Cuban republicanism" (p. 2), that, in other words, the United States left the Cubans pretty much to their own devices before they were strong enough to resist various kinds of exploitation, both external and domestic. It is true, of course, as revisionists never tire of reiterating, that the rhetoric of liberalism often cloaked self-serving interests—as indeed has the rhetoric of every ideal under the sun. But this is not worth saying unless one adds that the rhetoric of liberalism also placed certain limits on self-interest and impelled policies that sometimes went beyond the demands of nationalist preferences and material needs. Given the stakes for which the great powers were playing and given the ground rules of the game early in the century, the United States must be credited at least with the efforts it made to change the rules so as to assure that Cuba might become "as free as any small nation could be" (p. 74).

To put it another way, although the United States interfered in the processes of self-determination in various nations throughout the world, those nations would not necessarily have had greater success at independence if it had not. No doubt Fairbank is correct in saying that since the United States is heir to Western imperialism in China, it must acknowledge the legitimacy of modern China's hostile view. Yet in practical terms, how independent would China be today if American power had not counter-vailed that of the many other nations with ambitions in China? Open Door imperialism may not have differed in purpose from the imperialism of the British, Russians, Germans, or Japanese—though that is at least arguable—but the Chinese certainly appreciated the additional bargaining leverage American interposition afforded.

That the Turks acknowledged the value of such leverage is perhaps the

³¹ "The American desire to ensure strategic security in the Caribbean was not quite balanced by the heritage of self-determination." Hitchman, *Wood and Cuban Independence*, 134. See also Robert Freeman Smith: "When faced with a choice between reform and stability [after 1917] the United States chose the latter." *The United States and Cuba: Business and Diplomacy, 1917-1960* (New Haven, 1960), 98.

chief point of Roger Trask's new account of United States-Turkish relations before World War II, *The United States Response to Turkish Nationalism and Reform*. The Americans' apparently disinterested international posture made the United States Turkey's leading choice to arbitrate the postwar Middle Eastern controversies. One may get the impression from Trask's book that the United States never had an imperialist ambition in its life. "Historically," he writes, for example, "Americans revered the right of independence and self-determination, and thus they were inclined to be sympathetic with the Turks' desire to establish and maintain themselves as a nation" (p. 242). This may be a case of the blind men and the elephant: for the relatively remote Turkey of the 1920s the description seems to work, but as a generalization about what Americans revered it has its faults.³² All the same, the Turks looked to the United States to prevent especially the British and French from turning their newly reorganized nation into a dependency. The Turks even requested an American economic adviser, the very sort of thing that elsewhere tended to identify a nation as an American protectorate.³³ From the Turks' practical point of view it made little difference whether United States solicitation for Turkish integrity grew out of Wilsonian idealism or out of concern to find some means for restraining British and French pre-emption of the former Turkish territories. In the end, however, the purposes of American diplomatists were thwarted by the tidal wave of isolationism that struck the United States after the war and by the American public's passionate antagonism to the way the Moslem Turks had treated the Christian Armenians. The latter canceled out a favorable Turkish-American treaty in 1923, while the former made it impossible for Wilson to accept the offer of a mandate over a prospectively independent Armenia.

Taken altogether, then, one must ask whether, on balance, any country in the world would have been left freer to determine its own future if the United States had refrained from exerting its influence on the course of international affairs during the first third of the twentieth century.³⁴ Would China or Turkey or Belgium or Russia or Cuba or Haiti (or Armenia) have been able to preserve its national fulfillment more com-

³² For a more sophisticated treatment of the subject, Laurence Evans, *United States Policy and the Partition of Turkey, 1914-1924* (Baltimore, 1965), is still to be preferred.

³³ In the same period Persia and Australia also made such requests. It was their way of assuring that the United States would pay attention to their interests and help balance pressures from their other "benefactors."

³⁴ It is, of course, something of a question-begging question. In what sense is any nation self-defined? In a certain sense no "commonwealth" autonomously determines its own institutions or even its own values and ideals. The culture of every community consists as much in the constellations of responses to external influences brought to bear upon it as to the internal force of its own peculiar characteristics. This is especially evident for the more recently emerged nations, whose very existence is scarcely conceivable except for the intrusion over the past several centuries of foreign, particularly Western, influences. For much of the so-called Third World the very concept of nationhood, on which the claim to self-determination is so largely based, owes nearly everything to Western, capitalist ascendancy, whereas exploitive imperialism has much more ancient and global origins.

pletely, or at all, if the United States had never intervened in its affairs? Such questions scarcely require that one demonstrate American generosity or altruism; they merely call attention to the fact that regardless of American abstention, there is not the slightest evidence that the rest of the world's powers would have felt, or did feel, so constrained. By the time the United States seriously entered international politics, around the turn of the century, all the other major powers had demonstrated their capacity to preempt any opportunities for patronage, exploitation, or both, that the United States might have cared to pass up. This is to say nothing of the expansionist ambitions of some less powerful countries, such as Chile or Nicaragua, which have in the past coveted broader borders than their neighbors believed they should have. Nor does it touch upon the massive internal and institutional problems that have chronically skewed the efforts of less organized countries to help themselves.³⁵

IN VIEW OF THE INTRINSIC CONFLICT between a country's self-determination and its acceptance of foreign assistance, the more remote it is the larger its area of independence is likely to be. The grossly unequaled power of the United States in the Western Hemisphere meant that neighboring countries would necessarily become dependencies at least to some degree. Even so—and despite the many deliciously quotable noises emanating from the American right wing and from some business groups with specific interests at stake—the United States interventionist policy in Latin America during the first quarter of the century was directed chiefly at ending the perennial cycle of palace coups and factional insurgencies that were the common plague especially in the Caribbean and Central America. Except for Mexico, until after 1925 Latin American revolutions had little or nothing to do with social change, and American intervention had little to do with preventing it. On the other hand, United States policy almost certainly had a good deal to do with inspiring social change.

Consider the case of Haiti. Before that country wrenched its independence from France at the end of the eighteenth century it had been one of the richest colonies in the West Indies, accounting for one-third of France's foreign commerce on the eve of the Haitian revolution. The bloody struggle for independence itself wiped out much of the country's wealth.

³⁵ In his own calculus as to the causes of misery in the world, which is not quite the same issue discussed here, Barrington Moore, Jr. exonerates the United States of major culpability everywhere except in the Middle East and Latin America, though he confesses that ignorance of those parts of the world makes his estimate merely a surmise based principally on the heavy United States involvement there. These kinds of appraisals, to be sure, defy objective analysis. It is not meant as a criticism that although Moore's essay, "Of Predatory Democracy: The USA," is devoted to refuting the logic of attacks by his fellow radicals on U.S. foreign policy, and although he criticizes their tendency to "an instinctive leap for the most disagreeable answer," in the end he is himself left only with a sense of indignation: "Despite all the reservations I have expressed about the evidence and logic in radical arguments, the moral outrage behind them impresses me as thoroughly justified." *Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery*, 117, 149.

“What remained gradually deteriorated through years of neglect under independent Haitian rule. Abandoned plantations and sugar mills crumbled to ruin. French roads, aqueducts, and irrigation systems fell into disuse. Large scale agriculture . . . was replaced by independent subsistence farming.” Sugar and indigo cultivation ceased; coffee was picked wild or from what was left of bushes planted by the French. The former European colonists either fled or were massacred, leaving Haiti without administrative, political, or economic skills, plus a “tradition of hostility to political authority, a tendency toward corruption and immorality in public and private life, the example of ostentatious display of wealth, and a notorious lack of concern for sanitation and cleanliness.” The “moral decadence” of the French colonists, turmoil in the Roman Catholic Church, and endemic hostility to authority, which French rule instilled in the Haitians, “established a heritage of political instability and corruption” that endured. On top of everything else the emancipated Haitians—or a mulatto elite that lived in the cities—promptly established a virtual caste system of racial discrimination. The new ruling class—about three per cent of the population—“looked to Europe and especially to France for inspiration and disavowed all African and black associations.” The elite disdained manual labor, spoke and wrote a French distinct from the Haitian Creole of the rest of the population, and practiced Catholicism with the assistance of imported white priests and teachers. Meanwhile, with foreigners forbidden to own land, Haiti’s stagnant economy had to do without external leavening.

The summary and quotations are all from Hans Schmidt’s recent study, *The United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915–1934*.³⁶ Schmidt, who teaches history at the State University of New York at New Paltz, tells us further that economic motives played a small role in the American decision to intervene; that “Bryan and Wilson sought to use the American interests as instruments of State Department policy” (p. 55); that that policy was directed primarily toward strategic objectives—“that, because of political instability and domination by foreign capitalists, Haitian guarantees [that the government would resist French or German bids for naval bases on the island] were insufficient and . . . United States intervention was required to eliminate the threat of European encroachment” (p. 56). Schmidt reminds us that the Caribbean was at the time a region still “hotly contested by other powers” (p. 32) whose naval strength and expansionist proclivities were both demonstrable; so that American concerns over national security were not altogether so exaggerated as it must seem to the modern reader. Joseph Tulchin makes a similar point in his book. Americans assumed, meanwhile, that if Haiti had to accept foreign domination and if Haitian finances were to be governed by foreign creditors, American domination and financial guidance offered many advantages to the Haitians over

³⁶ Schmidt, *United States Occupation of Haiti*, 22–26.

that by the French or Germans, who until World War I controlled the principal foreign share of Haiti's economy. Among other things the State Department sought to end the exploitation of Haiti by foreign businessmen—American as well as European. Says Schmidt, "The Occupation, by ending graft, incurred the enmity of most American and other foreign businessmen who frequently complained about being discriminated against by treaty officials" (p. 169). In all this Schmidt confirms the forty-three-year-old account of Arthur C. Millspaugh, a former State Department agent who served as "financial adviser-general receiver of Haiti" from 1927 to 1929.³⁷

In the catalog of enduring achievements attributable to the American occupation, Schmidt notes the following: increased social mobility, especially for blacks, largely because "American economic and educational development programs were all designed to favor the peasants and undermine the privileged position of the elite" (p. 147) and because "for the first time education was open to the population at large" (p. 236); the development of a significant middle class; advances in the emancipation of women; a more stable politics, in part because of American-sponsored constabularies; and the emergence of an "ideology of negritude," in direct reaction to American white supremacist attitudes. The physical improvements rendered by the occupation, including the building of transportation, communication, and sanitation facilities, were all allowed to deteriorate once again after the withdrawal of U.S. troops. So, too, did Haiti's credit, although the prospects for luring capital remained improved over what they had been before the occupation.

To sum it up, here would seem to be a classic case of benevolent intervention. The Haitians had made a mess of independence. They had squandered what wealth they had had, and they had become immured in a culture that was antipathetic to the discipline of both work and authority. This had left them with few resources for improvement. Their government was run by a tiny, closed elite that was preoccupied with imitative cultural affectations, practiced a despotic racism, and was impaired further by a corruption that had become virtually "traditional." Revolutions had produced only frequent additional revolutions without altering the social order, so that the government failed to provide even the small comfort of an authoritarian predictability. Meanwhile the country's weakness had made it a nuisance to its more powerful neighbors and "fair game" for exploitation.

While considering the American opportunity, Schmidt's intention is not in the least to admire its restraint. A "third-generation" Wisconsin-school historian—his mentor at Rutgers, Lloyd Gardner, was a Williams student at Madison—Schmidt extends himself to meet the tenets of the revisionist critique. Although he observes that "the missionary impulse" had little to do with the decision to intervene, in any case, he says, Americans could

³⁷ Arthur C. Millspaugh, *Haiti under American Control, 1915-1930* (Boston, 1931).

claim no moral superiority to the Haitians because “barbarity also existed in the United States” (p. 66). Nor could Haiti’s instability truly serve as a legitimate excuse, because although Haiti suffered seven coups, and three presidential assassinations, in the five years before the occupation, France changed its government eleven times in about the same period—which presumably argues that Haiti was as stable as France, and since the United States did not intervene in France it should not have done so in Haiti. Phrases like “lucrative economic satellite” in reference to Haiti appear repeatedly in the text, though the bulk of the evidence in the book indicates that Haiti’s economic prospects were never “lucrative” and that the economic motivation, though occasionally cited by politicians, had little to do with either the intervention or the prolonged occupation thereafter.

At the same time, although Schmidt’s sorry argumentation and critique-by-innuendo can be annoying, he presents other facts about the United States occupation that can make one “turn green at midnight,” to use Henry Adams’s expression of disgust over American outrages in the Philippines. Dana Munro once argued that only by examining the “tedious details . . . the little incidents, the day-by-day developments” can one properly understand the reasons behind American interventions in the Caribbean.³⁸ It was an unobjectionable plea to judge policy only in its precise historical context. Unhappily, it is exactly when one gets away from the general outlines of policy—as in the case of the occupations of Haiti and Cuba—that the greatest doubts arise. It is precisely the “little incidents, the day-by-day developments” that make one pale; the smallness of men given large responsibilities, coupled with inattention in Washington to the implementation of policy, the outrageous pettiness of political responses at all levels, the intrusion of personal bigotry, and the mindless force of bureaucratic momentum.

From Schmidt we get the full details, missing in accounts such as the one by Millspaugh, of the brutal racist practices inflicted on the Haitians for nearly all of the nineteen-year American presence in the country. Possibly the most spiteful act by the Marines was to treat the mulatto ruling elite in the same racist fashion as the latter did their darker countrymen. In addition to enforcing a rigid apartheid, the Marines organized what were essentially slave-labor gangs for the construction of various public facilities, and they hunted insurgents as if they were game, in some cases firing from airplanes so that bystanding women and children became “accidental” casualties. Beyond the racial issue, United States officials in Haiti cynically used the occasion of World War I to run German businesses off the island without even the pretense of due process, although there was not the

³⁸ Munro, *Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy*, vii.

slightest evidence that the businessmen in any way threatened to serve the German war effort.³⁹

The Wilson administration first sought to correct many of the outrages committed by American officials in Haiti, some of which had been perpetrated against specific orders from Washington, but when revelations about the offenses began emerging in the press and Congress, administration spokesmen became defensive. They began denying anything improper was going on and justified "irregularities" on the basis of native disorder and security requirements. Nor could the policy makers, from the president down, overcome their embarrassment by pulling out. Although Wilson had early acknowledged that every reliable fact about Haiti relating to the national interest demanded that the United States get out promptly, he and his three immediate successors allowed the Marines to remain, partly because the policy makers could not admit that American efforts to establish a lasting stability had failed⁴⁰ and partly because it could never be allowed to appear that the United States withdrew under hostile local pressure. The prevailing assumption that the Haitians were racially inferior creatures gave the latter particular force.

How much of the gap between the liberal objectives of policy and the truculent disregard for liberal principles in the implementation developed from personal frailties, or the frailties of personnel—simple incompetence and skewed social outlooks? Dana Munro thought a great deal of it did,⁴¹ and there is much evidence in the studies by Gregory, Schmidt, and Tulchin to confirm it. Part of the problem was that most of those in the military and the foreign service were staunchly conservative. They tended to come largely from the same social class and regions of the country. Tulchin's analysis of State Department personnel is especially interesting on the subject. Although United States policy avowedly emphasized stabilizing the politics and finances of Latin American nations so that they might begin to gain control over their own social development, conservative definitions of "stability" must in practice have tended to deny many social changes that Cubans, Mexicans, and other less powerful neighbors might have wanted. However convincing Hitchman may be in his account of

³⁹ In a few cases during the war the State Department pressured Latin American governments to force out German firms when it seemed evident that the companies' profits or products were likely to return to Europe to alleviate Germany's shortages or international payments problems. Since the war cut off many of Latin America's normal sources of supply, and since the limited supplies available from the United States had to be specifically allocated, it was natural that "preferences" were awarded to those countries which "cooperated" with what was considered to be part of the United States war effort.

⁴⁰ See Arthur S. Link, *Wilson* (Princeton, 1947-65), 3: 541, on the same kind of failure in the Dominican Republic. Wilson and the State Department persisted in believing that the cause of continuing instability "was simply the venality of Dominican politicians and the nearly inherent inability of the Dominican people to govern themselves. Therefore, the solution lay, not in giving up, but in trying harder—in fastening American control more securely."

⁴¹ Munro, *Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy*, 544.

the Wood administration's benevolent reforms in Cuba, for example, one must reflect that Wood, Elihu Root, and most of the Americans responsible for setting Cuban policy were steadfast conservatives on the American political scene. Their notions of law and order resisted even their own countrymen's demands for social change, so that one has to be skeptical about their competence to judge the legitimacy of Cuban aspirations. One misses in Hitchman's presentation, moreover, any substantial treatment of how social and ethnic prejudices toward the Cubans must have insidiously undermined liberal policy goals, the way they obviously did in Haiti.

In addition there was the problem of the more or less deliberate sabotage of policy by government subordinates. One of Ross Gregory's most interesting contributions is his observation that many of President Wilson's closest aides, including both House and Lansing, deceived him and failed to carry out instructions as given.⁴² The clash between Wilson and Lansing was particularly sharp, and although Wilson did not trust his secretary of state and eventually fired him for good cause, Lansing's reactionary and sometimes bizarre views seriously undermined Wilson's purposes not only in Europe but in Latin America and Russia. When the dimensions of the problem or the stakes in question claimed major attention, some of the more reactionary or corrupt impulses of subordinates could be kept in check. But when information was scarce, communications were poor, or American envoys were prejudiced, subordinates effectively made policy. The probably willfully misleading reports sent from Mexico by the ambassador, Henry Lane Wilson, had a baleful influence on Woodrow Wilson's early attempts to shape a Mexican policy. Because Haiti did not rank in importance with Europe, Russia, Mexico, or Cuba, American relations with the country gravitated into the hands of the Navy Department, specifically subalterns in Haiti such as the Marine officers Smedley Butler and Littleton Waller, men who represented the rankest reactionary elements in American society. Their behavior not only contrasted with the purposes of their political superiors, they sometimes deliberately disobeyed orders. Although commanded by the secretary of the navy, Josephus Daniels, to terminate the practice of forced labor, the Marines in Haiti slyly continued it. In describing the completion of a construction project, Butler wrote, "It would not do to ask too many questions as to how we accomplish this work," (to the navy undersecretary, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who obligingly did not); elsewhere Butler confided how he would convey information about some other developments by "mouth to ear . . . for fear the Department of State might get hold of this letter."⁴³

Poor communications, the president's preoccupations at Versailles, and shortly afterward his physical incapacity played major roles in the pro-

⁴² See Gregory, *Origins of American Intervention*, 75, 81-82; see also Tulchin, *Aftermath of War*, 74; and Silverlight, *Victors' Dilemma*, 168.

⁴³ Butler, quoted in Schmidt, *United States Occupation of Haiti*, 100, 97.

longed presence of United States troops in Russia till 1920. On the other hand, lack of information had nothing to do with the decision to intervene. Every piece of reliable intelligence indicated in advance that sending troops would be both unjustifiable and counterproductive. As John Silverlight, a British editor and historian, shows in his absorbing synthesis of the Allied intervention, *The Victors' Dilemma*, Wilson himself presented all the arguments to that effect and indeed had held out against sending troops for some time. But in the face of Allied pressure on the eve of the final German offensive on the western front, the president reluctantly agreed to despatch 4,500 men to northern Russia, and a month later, in July 1918, he sent 9,000 men to Siberia so that the Allies would not find him dragging his feet over every issue that seemed of importance to them. Wilson clearly had in mind the strength of his negotiating position with the Allies at the peace conference. The ostensible, public reason for landing American troops in Murmansk and Archangel in September 1918 was to keep tons of war matériel from falling into German hands for use on the western front—a kind of “protecting our boys’ lives” argument, which became so familiar during the Vietnam War. The reason given for shipping troops to Siberia was to assist the Czech Legion, which, on its way eastward after the collapse of the Russian front in order to rejoin the war on the western front, had allegedly become embroiled with German prisoners of war reportedly armed by the Bolsheviks—a sort of “maintaining the credibility of our friendship” line. The war ended within three months, and yet the troops stayed on; those in northern Russia for an additional six months, those in Siberia for almost eighteen, while officials in Washington became absorbed by other problems.

In this case one should probably sympathize most with the American troops who were stuck through two winters in Siberia and northern Russia. They appear to have played practically no part in the civil war. Assuming, as it is fair to do, that the British and French would have remained even if the Americans had withdrawn, none of the effects of the intervention, such as they were, can be laid at the feet of the Americans. The contingent in Siberia spent its sojourn guarding the Trans-Siberian Railway, rigidly abiding by the president's orders to avoid all friction with Bolshevik forces. Lack of adequate communications and the absence of an American military command in northern Russia caused some involvement by United States troops in clashes there with the forces of the Bolshevik government. The involvement of the Allies throughout Russia, on the other hand, was quite deliberate and extensive. Silverlight tells the complicated story with great sensitivity and resourcefulness. As he sees it, the British were almost as reluctant to go in as the Americans and, excluding militants like Winston Churchill, were at least as eager to get out. But they felt bound to the French, who believed they had the most at stake if a communist regime should succeed in the eastern half of continental Europe.

Unlike George Kennan and E. H. Carr, Silverlight does not believe the intervention can in any way be blamed for subsequent tensions between the West and the Soviet Union; ideological differences, he argues, would have created the tensions anyway. On the other hand, the intervention was a folly from beginning to end.

The odor of the story inevitably evokes thoughts of the more recent Vietnam calamity: the same use of the domino theory *ad nauseum*; decisions made in the face of all logic to the contrary; deliberate lying by high officials about early peace feelers; unwillingness to withdraw under pressure despite horrendous consequences; even a case in which Allied troops destroyed an entire Russian town to prevent it from falling to the communists. It is a familiar tale of wretched leadership. "It would have taken," writes Silverlight at one point, "an act of the highest, coldest courage" for the Allies to have faced the facts presented by their own intelligence reports, so informed their allies and the White Russians whom they had encouraged, and pulled out. "It was asking to much. What they did was instruct the Chief of the Imperial General staff to prepare another report" (p. 151). Let us now praise famous men!

THE ROLE OF WHAT MAY BE CALLED bureaucratic imperatives has only recently gained an important share of attention in the writing about foreign policy. James C. Thompson, Jr.'s "How Could Vietnam Happen?" and Townsend Hoopes's *The Limits of Intervention* are two perceptive accounts of the phenomenon in the case of the Vietnam tangle.⁴⁴ An important part of Joseph Tulchin's exceptionally rich and compact account of United States-Latin American relations during and after World War I, *The Aftermath of War*, details developments within the State Department that significantly affected the posture of the United States abroad.

Tulchin confirms that until 1920 United States policy placed aid to American businessmen overseas in a secondary category. Like the Scholeses, Trask, Schmidt, Munro, and others, Tulchin notes that before 1920 the policy makers emphasized the stabilization of the Caribbean and Central American regions primarily in the interest of securing United States naval and trade routes. The change took place in 1920, before the Harding administration assumed office but during a period of general demoralization in Washington caused by Wilson's illness and his defeat in the Senate over the Versailles Treaty. The policy of firm support for American business interests abroad

evolved slowly, without guidance from the president, largely in response to administrative needs of the department itself and to the expanding needs of the

⁴⁴ James C. Thompson, Jr., "How Could Vietnam Happen? An Autopsy," *Atlantic Monthly*, Apr. 1968, reprinted in R. M. Abrams and L. W. Levine, eds., *The Shaping of Twentieth-Century America* (2d ed.; Boston, 1972), 683-94; Townsend Hoopes, *The Limits of Intervention* (New York, 1969).

American economy. It was encouraged by the fact that during the period of its greatest debility, the department's daily work was in the hands of career men who viewed Latin America as a sphere of United States special interest which merited a more forward stance by the United States government than might be called for in other areas of the world. These career men remained at their posts while the upper ranks of the department were decimated by resignations or upset by the constant traveling between Washington and Paris. To protect what they felt was their just control over foreign affairs and to withstand the attacks of the Department of Commerce and business-minded congressmen, the diplomats had to show themselves willing to defend the rights of Americans abroad. The more sensitive the department's position in Congress, the more aggressive the diplomats would be (p. 61).

Tulchin notes that the shift in the policy of the State Department went contrary to the general and profound trend in the country against the extension of overseas commitments. In one sense it also bucked the change of direction, indicated by the White House late in Wilson's second term, against further military adventures in Latin America, a change motivated largely by the president's belated, disillusioned acknowledgment that they had failed to achieve political development and had only encouraged some of the worst characteristics of American society. But in a different sense the new policy coordinated well with anti-interventionist purposes in that it reasserted an older, idealistic view that American businessmen, by their enterprise, would serve the same purposes of stabilization the policy makers had sought to achieve with Marines. It was a chimerical idea but one that fit well with the general readiness of the American public after the war to surrender policy control to the business community. Insofar as it failed to reckon with the crucial shortcomings of American business on the domestic scene, it was foredoomed to create as many problems as the sanguine State Department people hoped it might solve.

Although Tulchin's work is invaluable for balancing those more popular accounts of foreign economic policy that automatically assume economic motivation for most events, its deficiencies include a somewhat excessive tolerance for the policy makers' own rationales. It is probably legitimate to accept Secretary of State Hughes's sincerity when he informed Central Americans that the United States had "no ambition to gratify at your expense, no policy that runs counter to your national aspirations" (p. 102), but the apparent inconsistency of such pronouncements with the actions they were intended to explain (away?) requires some serious attention. Tulchin writes, moreover, as if some natural law of self-interest and power entitled the United States to "achieve its goals" as it saw fit. His references to the "sad lessons of intervention" seem confined to the "unwanted responsibilities" that interventions incurred. These may be legitimate points, but as such they would have to be presented in some less axiomatic way. Nor does Tulchin deal extensively with the disappointing consequences of the postwar policies of business promotion. He points out

that the cooperation between business and government, one of the State Department's objectives, "broke down because business did not find it convenient to be restricted by the government's foreign policies" (p. 91). More substantial treatment of that important observation would have been useful.

Tulchin focuses on the three areas in which the State Department concentrated its efforts in the 1920s: petroleum, cables, and loans. In each of these matters the department's objectives were to secure American access or control for strategic reasons. Petroleum had become indispensable to the armed forces and was thought in scarce supply. Foreign ownership of interoceanic cables had always placed American business at a disadvantage; during the war the British showed that they could turn such control into a military as well as an economic weapon. By assuring the dominance of American bankers in Latin America, the department hoped to increase American influence for political stability in the areas of the greatest American concern. When, by the mid-twenties, these objectives were mostly accomplished, the State Department sharply reduced its activities.

Tulchin denies that the State Department sought to use loans to foster American investments: that was the objective of the Commerce Department, and the two departments frequently collided on the issue. For example, the Commerce Department, and the United States ambassador in Chile, supported the American-owned nitrates companies in their dispute with the Chilean government over a kind of valorization scheme, while the State Department objected that pressure against the scheme would depress the industry and have damaging consequences for Chilean political stability. Similar clashes also occurred within the State Department. For example the economic adviser urged a high, discriminatory tariff against El Salvador in order to force that country to sign a most-favored-nation treaty, but the advice ran up against opposition from the Central American desk, then headed by Dana Munro, which scored the idea on political grounds.

The collision of major and minor wills in government help highlight the apparent contradictions between declared policies and behavior. In analyzing United States policy a researcher has to overcome the superabundance of source materials. Sometimes it seems as if one can "prove" anything one is predisposed to because in the mass of archival stuff just about everything that was said seems preserved, and just about everything was said. Intragovernmental memorandums and surviving correspondence frequently make hair-raising reading. At one point in 1919 Lansing even proposed to fellow cabinet members that an invasion of Mexico would help relieve the acute social turmoil then wracking the United States.⁴⁵ In 1918 Gordon Auchincloss complained to Undersecretary Frank Polk, who among State Department personnel stuck with unusual fidelity to the

⁴⁵ Smith, *United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico*, 163.

president's Mexican policy: "The Mexican Division continues to prepare outrageous notes to the Mexican Government which if they were presented and published . . . would ruin us forever in Mexico. Luckily none of these notes have gotten by Woolsey or myself."⁴⁶ Some such notes in fact did "get by," one by Lansing that Wilson had to repudiate publicly in 1919.

In his new study of United States relations with Mexico during the early revolutionary period, *The United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico*, Robert Freeman Smith takes the reader on a tour of the internal debate over policy and of the twists and turns that policy made. With the kind of material at hand, Smith has little trouble making the worst of American intentions. According to him the United States government, from Wilson through Coolidge, Hughes, and Kellogg, did everything it could to nullify the Mexican Revolution and to return the country to Porfirian "order," "stability," and servitude. The United States narrowly averted disaster, only because American financiers proved more patient and resourceful than did the State Department. Smith weaves the story with great skill and supports it with impressively comprehensive research.

There remain certain essentials, however, that tend to slip away in the telling. First, there were a number of different Mexican developments to which Americans had to respond, some of them highly charged. At the start of his administration Wilson tried out his well-known little revolution in diplomacy by denying recognition to the Huerta government on moral grounds. The policy met with apparent success, encouraging further efforts to promote republican institutions in the country. There is little evidence that business considerations played a crucial role in these efforts, except in the general sense that United States leaders believed implicitly that if Mexico became committed to American-style political and legal institutions American business and the Mexican economy would both thrive. The more direct force behind Wilsonian policy seems to have come from the sheer desire to "do good"—the same enthusiasm for improving society that motivated the Progressive movement at home. Naturally this enthusiasm ran head on into the divergent purposes of rival Mexican factions, some self-serving American investors, and the desperate condition of the Mexican economy. That Mexico seemed about to default on its foreign debt brought the customary pressures on the State Department for some form of direct intervention, pressures that caused greater perplexity by the fact that the United States had effectively committed itself to look after the interests of European creditors, too, in lieu of a show of force from those quarters.

Wilson hoped to use the United States government as a shield between what he saw as the traditional predators on Mexican welfare—both the financial interests that had "almost invariably obliged [Mexico] to give

⁴⁶ Auchincloss to Polk, June 29, 1918, in Polk Papers, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, drawer 73, file 46.

precedence to foreign interests over her own," as Wilson put it,⁴⁷ and the factional contestants for power in Mexico whose ambitions usually overrode Mexico's best interests. Ultimately Wilson became trapped by his own confidence that he would know a truly patriotic leader when one arrived. He knew it could not be Huerta, Madero's assassin. He flirted briefly with Villa because Villa seemed willing to accept Wilson's guidance, but Villa became a loser. Carranza, in Wilson's view, was too stubborn—a "pedantic ass," Wilson called him⁴⁸—and maliciously unwilling to recognize that Wilson sought only to help.

Early in 1916 the inevitable happened, as it had happened before in Cuba: a losing faction sought to avert defeat by provoking United States intervention. This Villa achieved with his raids on border towns in Arizona and New Mexico. The American jingo press and Wilson's not very loyal opposition in Congress lunged wildly for the lure. In a presidential election year Wilson yielded, and he sent "Black Jack" Pershing on his horse. Despite much military blundering and some military lying, Wilson narrowly averted full-scale war.

Since Wilson agonized long over the Mexican problem, and his moods ranged widely, the archives and manuscript collections contain every kind of statement from him—which gives every historian the opportunity to satisfy his most precious preconceptions about what motivated policy. The one thing that is clear is that Wilson pulled Pershing out in February 1917 and never sent troops in again, despite provocations in 1919—especially the kidnapping of a U.S. consular agent, William Jenkins—similar to those that had seduced the Americans three years earlier. Much can be made—as Smith does—of Wilson's lament that it would take 500,000 troops to "pacify" Mexico (actually it was a complaint that the warmongers did not know what they were asking for); still more of the priority Wilson gave to the European crisis over the Mexican irritation. By 1919, moreover, many of those with business interests in Mexico, though not most of the oil interests, were beginning to get the point that nothing would obliterate their stakes in the country more certainly than open belligerency. Unquestionably Wilson considered all these things. Yet there is still ample room to accept on its face Wilson's reasoning by 1916 that by persisting in his early policy of "forcing democracy" on Mexico he would not only compromise the American call for a new world order following the end of the European holocaust, he would also play into the hands of every self-preoccupied American interest with a finger in the Mexican pie.

Considering that the president's worsening physical condition affected his personality, made him irascible, easily offended by criticism, and exasperated by rebuff, it is remarkable that Wilson nevertheless stood off persis-

⁴⁷ Wilson to Lansing, Oct. 23, 1916, National Archives, State Department file 711.12/41 1/2.

⁴⁸ Wilson to Lansing, Apr. 19, 1917, *ibid.*, 711.12/36 1/2, cited in Smith, *United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico*, 90.

tent and insidious efforts in the United States to foment war. By focusing on his lapses, one can—as Smith does—make it appear that Wilson would have been satisfied with nothing less than thwarting the Mexican Revolution. But the outcome of events permits a rather different inference. Consider the case of Wilson's reluctance to recall Pershing long after it was clear his mission had failed. Smith explains it this way: "[Although] the original decision to send troops into Mexico may have been based solely upon Villa's attacks across the border . . . by June 1916 the Pershing expedition had become a lever to induce changes in Mexican policy" (p. 53). Yet, except in the truistic sense that by sending Pershing Wilson hoped to impel Carranza to take the necessary steps to prevent recurrent border raids—steps that some United States officials evidently believed Carranza was unwilling to take—Smith offers no support for the statement. A few pages later he notes that the major questions having to do with foreign property rights in revolutionary Mexico could not be negotiated successfully "as long as the Pershing expedition stimulated a growing anti-U.S. sentiment" (pp. 60–61). Wilson was evidently in "a petulant mood," to use Smith's words, when the United States commissioners reported back from Mexico with that message, because Wilson declined to act immediately on their recommendations. In Smith's framework this indicated "Wilson was suffering from acute frustration because a major attempt to shape the Mexican Revolution had so obviously failed" (p. 61). But it could as easily be argued that Wilson simply could not care as much about the issue of property rights as he did the apparent humiliation of having to withdraw Pershing while Carranza publicly kept up the pressure. This interpretation would make Wilson's motives no more noble but substantially different from motives rooted in property rights and economic gain.

Smith's most interesting points concern the clash between the United States and Latin America over legal concepts, especially Mexico's claim to retention of subsoil rights, formally asserted in Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution of 1917. The subsoil issue arose because the Díaz regime long before 1911 had waived those traditional Latin American rights, and Carranza moved to restore them after foreign investors had made their commitments "in good faith." The issue was indeed whether a developing nation would be allowed the capability to regulate its own resources in its own fashion (p. 26). To accept the hysterical pronouncements emanating from the press, politicians, and petroleum interests in the United States would make one conclude that the Mexicans were simply guilty of fraud and confiscation. But the correspondence among the more knowledgeable policy makers often contained other sentiments. Ambassador Henry P. Fletcher, who could rail with the most obsessed at Mexican "perfidy," in a more sober moment wrote to Lansing:

A large number of concessions had been granted by the old dictatorial govern-

ment which were in plain violation of the [Mexican] Constitution in that they exempted the concessionaires from the payment of taxes for a long period. . . . My impression is that it is [Carranza's] intention not so much to cancel or annul these illegal concessions as to oblige the holders in the future to fulfill the law, especially as it relates to taxes.⁴⁹

There are a few additional points that deserve special note. Although Mexico's assertion of subsoil rights constituted the most serious challenge to American concepts of law and order, Article 27 was not introduced until after the last military intervention in that country by the United States, which reinforces the point that the issue of property rights was not what exercised the policy makers most. When all the shouting was done, as Smith is forced to concede, the oil interests and other bellicose tub thumpers did not get the government to do their bidding. Second, as Smith acknowledges, the behavior of the Mexican government was not especially anti-capitalist—"although they could use the rhetoric when it supported their goals." "Within the framework of domestic economic policy the national development orientation was really orthodox in terms of both methods and objectives." Most of all, the revolutionary government "wanted to control—not eliminate—foreign enterprises" (p. 76). All this would tend to justify the rationale generally identified with Herbert Hoover, though of earlier origin, that the United States government had to defend the interests of its private businessmen against rivals sponsored by foreign governments. Smith also acknowledges, while insisting that the Mexican Revolution represented a genuine challenge to the creditor-capitalists countries, that the "revolutionary" fervor appears to have been carefully orchestrated by Mexican politicians with little or no interest in substantial social change (p. 230). There is evidence, moreover, that Carranza apparently never seriously expected to enforce Article 27; he intended originally to use it only as a negotiating weapon, which again tends to justify the hardheaded reaction it evoked in the State Department.⁵⁰

NONE OF THIS is meant to canonize United States policy makers in any way. In politics, where morals and necessities as well as interests collide, even the best reveal their moral flaws. In John Silverlight's account of the Russian intervention Woodrow Wilson comes out the most earnest and liberal of the leaders on the scene, but even so there is enough to worry a cynic. Early in 1919, writing on behalf of the Allies, Wilson averred: "It is not [our] wish or purpose to favour or assist any one of those organized groups now contending for the leadership and guidance of Russia as against the others." Of which Silverlight nastily asks, "Archangel? Odessa? Allied aid to Kolchak in Siberia and Denikin in the South?" (p. 142). It is reminiscent

⁴⁹ Fletcher to Lansing, Mar. 13, 1917, Fletcher Papers, Library of Congress, box 4.

⁵⁰ See Lorenzo Meyer, *México y Estados Unidos en el conflicto petrolero* (Mexico City, 1968), 87-88.

of Wilson's draft of a message in 1915 on United States policy toward its Latin American neighbors in which he wrote: "It does not lie with the American people to dictate to another people what their government shall be or what use shall be made of their resources, what laws or rulers they shall have or what persons they shall encourage or favor." To which Lansing penciled in the margin: "? Haiti S Domingo Nicaragua Panama."⁵¹

In analyzing these contradictions perhaps it would be useful to see them as the collisions of unimpeachable principle with certain inescapable realities. "All men are created equal," but it is the most obvious fact that some individuals have distinctly inferior physical and mental capabilities. Within a single polity, liberal legislation can minimize the penalties that the latter are forced to suffer for their deficiencies. All nations are equal in their sovereignty, but who will deny that some nations have so few resources that they must be continually in the political and commercial debt of others? Insofar as the latter condition prevails, client nations necessarily become, to greater or lesser degrees, instruments in the rivalry among ascendant powers. In the absence of some international polity there is little but good will and countervailing power to minimize the exploitation some nations are forced to endure for their deficiencies.

Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, and Hughes all knew this. As Arthur Link has written, "Wilson . . . assumed that the ordinary rules of international comity did not apply when small republics had demonstrated their incapacity to govern themselves."⁵² Why, then, didn't these men say as much? Why did they continue instead to make such outrageously hypocritical statements? The answer may be that liberal theory cannot admit that any one group of people can decide for another when it is capable of self-government or even precisely in what that capability consists. Nor could consistent criteria be devised to determine when it might be worthwhile to intervene in order to set things "right." Better to treat such matters with benevolent obfuscation. Maintain the virtue of the principle while minimizing its relevance to "special cases" or, on the other hand, while minimizing the importance of specific departures from the principle. At least then the principle stays alive. Hypocrisy, as someone once said, is the tribute vice pays to virtue.

⁵¹ Quoted in Link, *Wilson*, 4: 313.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 3: 550.

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

PHILIP P. WIENER, general editor. *Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas*. Volume 1, Abstraction in the Formation of Concepts to Design Argument; volume 2, Despotism to Law, Common; volume 3, Law, Concept of, to Protest Movement; volume 4, Psychological Ideas in Antiquity to Zeitgeist. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1973. Pp. xxxi, 677; 696; 677; 537. \$35.00 each.

There have been so many obituaries to the history of ideas that we must take this massive dictionary as an emphatic denial of the reports of its death. Four volumes, 2,587 pages, 317 articles all proclaim the continued vitality of the discipline to which the names of Arthur Lovejoy, George Boas, and Philip Wiener, the editor of this work, are permanently attached.

This is all to the good. The house of history has many apartments, and we do well to resist all efforts at turning it into a condominium, with its mass-produced, centrally imposed, dreary uniformity. The historical craft may have suffered from an excessive emphasis on prominent individuals—world-historical statesmen and philosophers—an emphasis dictated less by cultural snobbery than by a paucity of techniques for grasping the lives of the poor. A reaction has been inevitable and is healthy; historians profitably undertake inquiries that their predecessors have been unwilling or unable to undertake. But we have no reason to assume that the modish fixation on the illiterate is any more likely to produce truly balanced history than the earlier fixation on the literate. The cultural history of the future toward which our profession is now aiming will have to embrace both thinker and demagogue, poet

and peasant, the writer and the reader of newspaper articles. I predict—and, as one who has never practiced Lovejoy's history, I think I may venture this prediction—that in that cultural history of the future, the old-fashioned history of ideas will have a far from negligible part to play.

Certainly this *Dictionary* is decidedly old-fashioned. It has some splendid articles on subjects beloved of the readers of the *Journal of the History of Ideas*: "Primitivism" and "Vox Populi" by George Boas; "Literary Attitudes Toward Mountains" and "Virtuoso" by Marjorie Nicolson. But despite some bows to the subjects that now agitate historians, the overpowering emphasis of this dictionary is on the content and the careers of great, or at least large, ideas. There is, to be sure, an article on "Social Attitudes Towards Women," and one on "Protest Movements," but these, the first by Mary Daly and the second by Peter N. Stearns, are exceptions. The social dimension of ideas is by no means absent: it appears prominently, for instance, in a learned contribution by Arnaldo Momigliano, "Freedom of Speech in Antiquity," which is an extensive and impressive essay in its own right. And there are numerous other articles in which ideas find themselves closely enmeshed with reality. But in general the stress is on the ideas themselves, and their producers, rather than on their diffusion or their consumers. Thus there are no articles on literacy or on printing, on publishing or on censorship; there is an article on Marxism but not on communism—on the idea, but not on the practice.

This is a defensible procedure. Title and subtitle of this dictionary proclaim its range

and its limitations. It is a dictionary of the history of ideas; and its articles are selections from a larger field. Such a claim and such a disclaimer disarm the critic, especially since the ideas included are representative of the discipline of which this work is an epitome. Moreover, many of the articles are real contributions to historical exposition: Leonard Krieger's twenty-two-page essay on "Authority" is a pioneering survey of a vast and obscure field, while Carl T. Jackson's "Oriental Ideas in American Thought" opens new vistas on American transcendentalism, at least to me. And the average level of explanation in the standard contributions to standard fields—Neoplatonism, causation, nature, individualism—strikes me as very satisfactory. The allocation of space is sometimes a little eccentric: "Ambiguity as Aesthetic Principle" by Tom Tashiro gets nearly twelve pages, while "Property," by the late Wolfgang G. Friedmann, gets less than eight. There are six articles on myth, totaling forty-six pages, while psychology gets only three articles and thirty pages, though if we add "Behaviorism," which is very fully covered by R. S. Peters in sixteen pages, the balance is somewhat restored. But this is doubtless inevitable; in general, the editors have run a tight ship, getting both full treatment and economical exposition. Besides, many of the authors take some fascinating side trips—Peters, in "Behaviorism," goes back to Aristotle—how fascinating will emerge only after the fifth volume, the index, is added in 1974 to these four volumes of text.

The historian studying this compendium will be gratified to discover the close attention it pays to his subject. The article on "Historiography," by Herbert Butterfield, embraces the entire range of historical writing from Mesopotamia to Labrousse, though there is more on the first than on the second; his time-voyage takes him thirty-five pages or about 30,000 words. And it is accompanied by separate articles—on "Historicism" by Georg Iggers, "The Influence of Ideas on Ancient Greek Historiography" by Kurt von Fritz, "Economic History" by the late Frank H. Knight, and by such pertinent essays as the late George Lichtheim's "Historical and Dialectical Materialism," and Herbert Weisinger's "Renaissance Literature and Historiography." A special article on social

history would have been welcome, though its absence is scarcely surprising. What is more surprising is the absence of an article on the history of ideas: Philip Wiener's brief preface scarcely takes its place. But then the editors doubtless reasoned that it was better to exemplify the history of ideas than to apologize for it, and this the contributors have done, with striking success.

If, beyond my reservation about the relative indifference to the social history of ideas, I have one cavil with this splendidly useful *Dictionary*, it concerns the bibliographies. Here firmer control would have been desirable. Some articles list only primary sources, others only secondary works, while still others mix the two by placing them in alphabetical order. This is confusing for the reader; clearly the best procedure is that followed by Felix Gilbert in his fine essay on "Revolution": Gilbert offers a highly selected choice of books and articles, each of them briefly annotated. But this is a relatively minor complaint, and even in the bibliographies, this *Dictionary* offers some pleasing surprises: Herbert W. Schneider concludes his bibliography to "Religious Enlightenment in American Thought" with the comment, "H. W. Schneider, *The Puritan Mind* (New York, 1930), does not do justice to the illuminism and pietism in Edwards, but describes his early enlightenment." As long as such self-criticism lives, the discipline lives too.

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I. BERNARD COHEN. *Introduction to Newton's 'Principia.'* [Cambridge, Mass.:] Harvard University Press. 1971. Pp. xxviii, 380. \$30.00.

ALEXANDRE KOYRÉ and I. BERNARD COHEN, assembled and edited by, with the assistance of ANNE WHITMAN. *Isaac Newton's Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*. The third edition (1726) with variant readings. In two volumes. [Cambridge, Mass.:] Harvard University Press. 1972. Pp. xlii, 547; 548–916. \$60.00 the set.

If tempted to whimsey, one might wonder whether an efflorescence of sober historical scholarship inevitably presages the secular decline of the particular empire subjected to scrutiny. Certainly the quarter century following World War II saw both the high noon of West-

ern science and the first full flowering of Western scholarship devoted to the past of that science. It is only within this period that the history of science has become an established discipline, with its own cognitive and social identities. America was at the center of all these developments. Whatever the causal linkages, chronological sequences, or mere correlations, one undeniable outcome is the three magnificent volumes under review.

Perhaps the strongest prenatal influence to which the history of science was subject was that of Isaac Newton. The 1930s saw the classic Marxist statement by Boris Hessen (*The Social and Economic Roots of Newton's Principia* [1931]), the careful, liberal counterstatement by G. N.—later Sir George—Clark (*Science and Social Welfare in the Age of Newton* [1937]), and the pioneering sociological approach of Robert K. Merton (in his *Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England* [1938]). The tercentenary of Newton's birth was belatedly celebrated in London in 1947. At that time the Royal Society decided to sponsor a multivolume edition of his correspondence. The attention of the fledgling first generation of professional historians of science was thus drawn to the enormously rich, accessible, and unexplored mass of Newtonian holographs. Mining and refining this great mountain—a recent estimate puts its bulk at more than three million words—has proved deeply absorbing and repeatedly rewarding. Unexpectedly rich lodes have occurred with astonishing frequency. One outcome has been the growth of a veritable Newton industry. While Marxist, Weberian, and liberal concerns severally helped shape the initial interest, the very character of the raw material has helped move production in quite other directions.

The industry's major creations are now reaching the scholarly consumer. One thinks immediately of D. T. Whiteside's magisterial edition of *The Mathematical Papers* ([Cambridge, 1967]; four of eight volumes published so far), the *Correspondence* (now under its third editor, Rupert Hall, death being certain unlike scholarship [Cambridge, 1959]; four of seven volumes available) and the work now under review. As befits a developed industry, Newton scholarship also includes a range of substantial, if less enduring, artifacts as well as

a plethora of minor items and by-products. Examples of the varied genres include J. R. Herivel's *Background to Newton's Principia* (1965), Frank Manuel's *Portrait of Isaac Newton* (1968), R. S. Westfall's *Force in Newton's Physics* (1971), the conference proceedings on *The Annus Mirabilis of Sir Isaac Newton* (1971), promised critical editions of Newton's alchemical and optical studies, and J. R. Kantor's "Newton's Influence on the Development of Psychology" (*Psychological Record*, 20 [1970]: 83–92). The *Isis Critical Bibliography* reports some thirty-four items on Newton in 1972 alone, showing how this industry still overshadows its newer competitors based on Darwin (twenty-five items) and Einstein (twenty-one items). Given all this activity, one could possibly have anticipated the final contemporary accolade. The imminent publication of Professor Cohen's first volume provided the occasion for the *New York Times* to pronounce at length on "The Isaac Newton Revival" (September 23, 1971). As the *Times* put it, if industry is the right word for "the rising world-wide flood of Newton literature . . . then the chairman of the board is probably Professor I. Bernard Cohen."

No one could be more fitted for the position than Professor Cohen. He was the first American ever to gain a Ph.D. in the history of science. He was a pupil of George Sarton, the lonely prophet of an unacknowledged discipline. Like Sarton before him, Cohen now occupies a senior position at Harvard University. He brings to his work that scrupulosity and bibliographical concern one would expect from Sarton's successor. Cohen also brings something Sarton lacked. His work is everywhere informed with an awareness of and sensitivity to the growth and complexity of scientific ideas. Like the majority of those American scholars drawn into the first generation of professional historians of science, Cohen was heavily influenced by the work of Alexandre Koyré. The patterns of conceptual analysis set forth with such subtle clarity by this emigré historian of philosophy (pre-eminently in his 1939 *Études Galiléennes*, but also in such later essays as his 1965 collection of *Newtonian Studies*) provided compelling models for emulation. In Cohen's case the influence was unusually strong and direct.

Discovering their common interest in New-

ton, Cohen and Koyré were lead to an intense collaboration in the years from 1956. Their complementary skills made them a formidable pair. Out of their partnership came the developing idea of a critical edition of the *Principia*. Following Koyré's untimely death in 1964, Cohen carried on alone. The present volumes bear the marks of the collaboration, yet they are Cohen's magnum opus and, in a very real sense, his alone. In them one can everywhere see his compendious learning and his passionate delight in unraveling historical riddles—especially those long wrapped in mysteries inside enigmas. It is pleasant to report that the edition is also a triumph of the publisher's art. The editors and typesetters of Harvard and Cambridge University Presses (the work was printed in England) deserve congratulation on their meticulous solutions to a host of technical problems (for example, showing eight variant mathematical formulations on one page).

The tomes now available consist of one introductory volume and two devoted to a "variorum" text of the *Principia* itself. The heart of the work lies in the 771 pages of text in which, with exacting care, Professor Cohen has assembled all the different forms found in eight versions of the *Principia* (the published editions of 1687, 1713, and 1726; the printer's manuscript for the first edition; two copies of the first editions amended by Newton for the second edition; and two copies of the second edition similarly amended for the third). From one's own armchair it is now possible to appreciate the nuances, development, and hesitations of Newton's thought. It is also possible to savor at least some of the heroic mental acts by which this work of such profound intellectual importance in the modern history of the West was developed and refined through the forty years in which its public presentation was of active concern to Newton. Detailed original scholarship must still depend on the rich stores of Newton manuscripts. This invaluable edition does, however, allow a new level of sophisticated understanding by that broader community of historians, philosophers, and scientists to whom Newton's achievement is of interest.

The magnitude of Professor Cohen's labors may be seen from the guide to the *Apparatus Criticus*. It alone occupies thirty quarto pages.

Another fifty are devoted to a bibliography of the *Principia* itself, and to associated historical scholarship. Some nineteen supplements treat matter extraneous to the main text (for example, for Newton's hard line on "law and order" see p. 794). Volume 1 provides a 280-page introduction that is a "history of a book" rather than an analytic commentary on its contents. This section will be most accessible to "the general reader." It provides much food for reflective thought on history, science, and culture. It contains a historiographical review of attempts at producing a "variorum" *Principia*, a detailed history of the writing, first printing, reception, and subsequent revision of the work (here Professor Cohen provides several classic displays of "the historian as detective"), and a thoughtful discussion of the technical difficulties in editing a scientific treatise and "fixing" Newton's ever-developing speculations and elaborations.

If all this were not enough, Professor Cohen now projects a critical edition of Newton's early *De Mundi Systemate*, a computer-based analytical concordance of the *Principia*, a commentary on the text itself (perhaps extending to three volumes), and a new and more adequate English version. Clearly the heroic vision and gargantuan appetite for work that have brought him thus far are still happily undiminished. And the present volumes offer a sufficiently rich and detailed picture of both the natural philosopher and the historian of science at work as to shatter easy myths about the former, while displaying something of the strength and sophistication of particular approaches now routine to the latter.

Professor Cohen's work highlights the powerful methods of conceptual analysis now available as tools for any historical approach to the highly technical and abstract "great works" of science. Just as historical analysis of Shakespearean texts or operatic scores has become routine, so too now with science. In this sense the present work may be taken as one triumphant response to the 1930s challenge critically to analyze the past of science. Similar exhaustive and high-level textual scholarship is needed (and may soon be forthcoming) on the work of Darwin and Einstein at the very least. Yet such modes of conceptual analysis alone cannot in the end be counted sufficient. If sci-

ence, like art and literature, is to be understood as a time-bound, human creation rather than as an unfolding of eternal truths, so psychological and sociological approaches become as critical to historical understanding as the directly conceptual. Indeed they are particularly important at the present because of our new realization of the relativity of scientific knowledge and our dearth of apposite models and techniques of cultural analysis (Max Weber might write on *The Sociology of Religion* and *The Sociology of Music*, but neither he nor any successors have created an adequate historically-based *Sociology of Science*). However, those who prefer enjoying the present achievements rather than speculating on the future possibilities of the history of science will find rich reward in Professor Cohen's splendid scholarly contribution.

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J. D. GOULD. *Economic Growth in History: Survey and Analysis*. London: Methuen; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1972. Pp. xix, 460. Cloth \$15.00, paper \$7.50.

Like the statistician, the historian inhabits an intellectual space lying between bookkeeping and astrology. There is no reason, then, that he should fight shy of books based on national income accounting. In this book an economic historian, J. D. Gould, has re-examined the recent literature measuring and analyzing the economic growth of nations. He notes its limitations, qualifications, and assumptions. He observes the empirical regularities noted in its statistics, as they have been compiled for the major, and some minor, industrial countries. He follows the excavations into the sources of the income growth. In six informative and judicious chapters, he covers important topics: the general pattern of structural change; the roles of agriculture, capital, foreign trade, and technology; and finally the statistical patterns perceived by economists—Chenery, Lewis, Hoffmann, Gerschenkron, and Rostow—who have examined them. The book thus continues the effort at a synthesis of these statistics and the conclusions derived from them from the

point at which Simon Kuznets's *Modern Economic Growth: Rate, Structure, and Spread* (1966) left it. Professor Gould exhibits to good advantage his wide acquaintance with the contemporary economic literature and the facts of European economic history. His scrupulous honesty, seriousness, and good judgment are everywhere evident. He shares with Kuznets a skill in the difficult art of making the data say something, and not too much.

As a method, then, the use of national income statistics involves no serious interruption of historians' favorite pastime—tracing and comparing the careers of nations in the modern world. In the sort of information they give, these statistics are closer to historical narrative than to an exercise in econometrics. Still, for an unwary historian, the game is not without its dangers. One takes several simple production series, combines them, divides the result by other series, and computes ratios and growth rates. By regressions or index number techniques, he shows the "statistical" contribution of each series to the total growth. And thus he has been launched unawares on the sea of hypothetical (counterfactual) history. Or again, compiling the rates and ratios for a number of national societies, one may observe regularities and constancies over time or among countries. He is then well on his way to establishing empirical "laws" of economic growth. National historians can move comfortably into the house Kuznets has built. To understand the ground plan, they should note first an essay of Kuznets's prepared at an early stage in the comparative income research, "The State as a Unit in Study of Economic Growth" (*Journal of Economic History*, 11 [1951]: 25-41). Reading it, the historian may be convinced that boundaries of nations, rather than those of watersheds, seas, zones of climate, soil, elevation, and rainfall, are the important dividers of economic history. If so, he can read the national income literature without discomfort. If not, he must first make his peace with the facts of geography and international economic history. Once inside the door of Kuznets's house, Gould's book offers him a reliable and interesting guide to the rooms, the furniture, and the trapdoors.

WILLIAM N. PARKER
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LEONARDO BENEVOLO. *History of Modern Architecture*. Volume 1, *The Tradition of Modern Architecture*; volume 2, *The Modern Movement*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press. 1971. Pp. xxxiv, 374; 376–868. \$35.00 the set.

Sound enough in its content, Professor Benevolo's lengthy survey of modern architecture suffers from its basic orientation toward the question of whether the architects were succeeding in ordering society. Measured by this virtually utopian criterion, modern architecture has of course failed quite dismally; and a chronicle in such terms becomes not so tragic as tedious. Individually, modernist European buildings related to the masters of the Bauhaus have, by today, deteriorated miserably—as illustrated so sadly in the more recent of the photographs in Benevolo's study. The simple fact that they have been allowed to deteriorate surely offers some evidence of what little impress they had on the average citizenry.

An implied belief in evolutionary progress in architecture also works against the success of this study. The territory that Benevolo attempts to traverse is immense. Even with 868 pages and 1,068 illustrations, his study is marked by both wordiness and sketchiness; and the serious student of any particular subject will turn to other sources. Moreover, Benevolo's study, first published in Italy in 1960, has to compete in many ways with the familiar studies by Nikolaus Pevsner, Sigfried Giedion, and Henry-Russell Hitchcock—all of which appeared earlier, and all of which are better written.

Professor Benevolo's heroes are William Morris, Walter Gropius, and, finally, Le Corbusier. Again, all three are readily available through their own words and through numerous studies by other authors.

The apology in advance, in the preface, that "discussion will necessarily be fragmentary and disjointed, and will touch upon many matters apparently unconnected with architecture in general," is no excuse for two ponderous volumes of badly organized and mostly dull reading matter. It is a pity, because Professor Benevolo obviously has traveled well in studying his scattered subjects, he is widely read, and is on occasion thoroughly capable of incisive and original commentary.

DONALD HOFFMANN
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N. E. NOSOV *et al.*, editors. *Problemy istorii mezhdunarodnykh otnoshenii: Sbornik statei pamiati akademika E. V. Tarle* [Problems in the History of International Relations: A Collection of Articles in Memory of Academician E. V. Tarle]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Otdelenie Istorii, Leningradskoe Otdelenie, Instituta Istorii SSSR.) Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1972. Pp. 426.

This *Festschrift*, a tribute to the memory of the distinguished historian, Evgenii Viktorovich Tarle, consists of twenty-seven contributions by Soviet historians. Except for the personal recollections by his friends, colleagues, and former students the topics of these contributions are by far not limited to the subjects or historical periods of his own publications. Only one article deals with the Napoleonic period (A. L. Shapiro, "Kotorskii vopros v 1806 g." [pp. 193–206]). The topics of the other articles range from the tenth to the twentieth centuries. All of them could be read with profit by the medievalists and other historians, in particular by those interested in Russian-Soviet and Polish history.

One of the articles, devoted to a review of Tarle's early writings, deserves special mention, because it seems that its implications escaped the Soviet censor's attention. S. B. Okun, in "E. V. Tarle i tsarskaia cenzura" (pp. 26–38), discusses Tarle's difficulties in publishing in 1905 his study of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789). Tarle, at that time a liberal, wrote, while praising the Declaration, that "ignorance, forgetfulness of, or contempt for the rights of man are the only reason for misfortunes or decadence of governments"; "men should remain free during their whole lives"; "the goal of any political association consists in the protection of natural and inalienable human rights"; "I cannot freely publish under the surveillance by two or three censors"; "not to be a slave, not to allow anyone to muzzle me"; "a wise government may always prevent dangerous insurrections if it makes them unnecessary." At that time Tarle shared the French revolutionary belief in the right of revolt against a government that encroached upon human rights. All this could be read as an implicit criticism of the Soviet regime.

The historical articles are unfortunately printed without paying any attention to the chronological order or the relationship among

the topics. Articles devoted to the Middle Ages are, for instance, inserted in between other articles dealing with this century. Limited space, together with the wealth of the various contributions, permit me to mention only briefly some of the highlights.

M. B. Sverdlov's article, "Politicheskie otnosheniia Russi i Germanii X-pervoi poloviny XI v." (pp. 282-300), discusses the first example of the East-Slavic-German cooperation against Poland (the alliance between the Kievan princes and the German emperors against the Polish rulers, Boleslav the Brave and his son, Mieszko II). I. P. Shaskol'skii deals in his article, "Russko-shvedskie peregovory 1626 g." (pp. 224-42), with the Swedish-Russian agreement, another anti-Polish combination. He explains that an agreement with Sweden, "a less dangerous enemy," was politically justified because Poland was "the most dangerous enemy." Although the negotiations in 1626 proved for various reasons fruitless, they were the prelude to the Swedish-Russian cooperation in the 1630s.

The Polish question is mentioned *in passim* in R. Sh. Ganelin's article, "Storonniki separatno-mira s Germaniei v tsarskoi Rossii" (pp. 126-55). Apparently those in or around the Russian government who wanted to save the dynasty were ready to abandon all claims to Russian Poland and Courland in exchange for eastern Galicia and territorial gains at the expense of Turkey, with the right of free navigation through the Turkish straits. The author gives the impression that the secret contacts between Russian and German emissaries failed mainly because of the slowness and irresoluteness of the German government. He names, among others, the empress, the wife of Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich, Rasputin, Witte, Stürmer, Protopopov, the Department of Police, and even Miliukov as those who favored in 1916-17 the conclusion of a separate peace. He mentions a few examples of a counterintelligence struggle between that department and the Russian general staff who opposed the separate peace.

B. A. Shishkin's "K istorii chekhoslovatsko-russkikh otnoshenii (1920-1922 gg.)" (pp. 111-25) finds two reasons for the rather unfriendly Czechoslovak neutrality toward Poland during the war with Soviet Russia: the territorial quarrel over the Teschen area and

the Czech unwillingness to see the Polish state strengthened by a victory over Russia. This Czech attitude in 1920 was one of the reasons for the Polish dislike of the Czechs during the interwar period.

Other articles deal with a great variety of subjects. They include such topics as the concept of sovereignty in the Middle Ages (in particular as illustrated by the Byzantine policies, though the claims by the German emperors were no different), a valuable contribution to the history of international law; the diplomatic background of the Hundred Years' War; the Russian relations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the papacy and the Italian states; the reasons for the decadence of Renaissance Italy (rather weak); John Milton's "History of the Muscovy" (a very favorable evaluation); the policies of the great powers during the period of the Greek war for independence; the British Boer War; and the Genoa Conference of 1922.

The contributions to this *Festschrift* are all scholarly and grounded in a great wealth of Western and Russian bibliographical sources. Only a few of them are marked by the Marxist interpretation of history.

W. W. KULSKI

Duke University

F. H. HINSLEY. *Nationalism and the International System*. (Twentieth Century Studies.) Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications. 1973. Pp. 192. \$7.50.

This broad-brush portrait of the Western state system falls somewhere between history, political science, and political theory and will be subjected to the critical tests of three very different sets of judges.

The political science models of Kaplan and the system theorists and of Morgenthau and the political realists tend to be static and rather abstract. By contrast, Hinsley describes an evolving multiple-sovereignty system completing in our own generation its first major transformation since the mid-eighteenth century. While recent political science literature on "nation-building" focuses on the nationalism of the third world, Hinsley turns our attention back to Europe and "the victory of the administrative over the social principle" (p. 29), which has consolidated nation-states in

advanced industrial countries. On the other hand, while diplomatic historians focus on the behavior of particular states as revealed in multiarchival research, Frank Hinsley's concern is with changes in dominant ideas and technology that correlate with broad changes in international system behavior.

The transnational forces and nonstate actors in world politics do not to Hinsley suggest the withering away of the nation-state; as in his earlier *Power and the Pursuit of Peace* he still sees the dream of world government as illusory. In his view the new forces and new actors stimulate the advanced industrial nation-state to develop new strengths to regulate new challenges to its authority. The Europe of the Nine would then presumably be signaling not the coming of a postnationalist era but the emergence of a West European political nationalism.

Because the great powers in the 1970s "are in balance between themselves, they are again able, as they were during the nineteenth century when confronting the Balkan question or scrambling for colonies," Hinsley concludes, "to prevent . . . crises from involving them in war" (p. 135). He further finds that in any case "confrontation has for the present had its day" (p. 172). This would be good news, but the Cambridge professor takes part of it back when he warns that for long-term peace and stability "states will either have to control technological growth and social and political change . . . or they will have to learn to control themselves." It took only one Hitler to bring on World War II; so much for our confidence that some great power will not one day count too confidently on the others' aversion to thermonuclear war. What about peace and stability via control of technological growth and of social and political change? Evidently, we need to know more about the sources of the present apparent stability in great-power relations and the prospects for or conditions of its long-term continuance.

WILLIAM T. R. FOX
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JACQUES DROZ, editor. *Histoire générale du socialisme*. Volume 1, *Des origines à 1875*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1972. Pp. 658. This work deserves a place of the first rank among the publications that try to make

scholarly audiences understand the development of socialist ideas and movements. The evolution of socialism has occurred through the cross-fertilization of tendencies that have appeared in different countries, and the sequence of its phases has an inner logic that it is important to understand. Therefore, in addition to investigations of socialist history specialized by criteria of space and time, there is great need for books that present the history of socialism extending through different periods and across frontiers. This is what Jacques Droz has undertaken. It is all to the good that he is not merely the editor but has written a sufficiently large part of the book to avoid, in the main, the curse of so many symposia: lack of unity of viewpoint.

In writing about a book of this size, a reviewer cannot indicate all the points with which he agrees or disagrees. Generally, the judgment of Droz and his collaborators is well balanced. Evidently, he is deeply under the influence of Marxist thought, but there is also criticism of Marxist ideas. There is perhaps some bias in favor of the revolutionary, Leninist interpretation of Marx to the exclusion of those elements that contain the seeds of reformism; for instance, Marx's famous Amsterdam speech of 1872, in which he said that in such countries as the United States and Britain the transition to socialism may well be effected in a peaceful, democratic manner, is not mentioned anywhere in the volume. On the whole, however, the wealth of literature surveyed and of events analyzed is amazing. The contributors show great understanding in the interpretation of the views, points of strength, and weaknesses of the individual socialist authors. I find it particularly gratifying that Droz, in his section on the origins of German Social Democracy, has not committed the frequent mistake of picturing the antagonism between Marx and Lassalle (whose first name, by the way, was not Friedrich but Ferdinand) as one between a revolutionary and a proto-revisionist; he has correctly pointed out that the main issue was the attitude that socialists should take toward nonsocialist parties: Lassalle, like the Tory-Chartists, had become so disappointed with the middle-class liberals that he wanted to enter into an alliance with conservatives against the liberal bourgeoisie; for Marx, in spite of his bitter attacks on

bourgeois liberalism, this was treason against the spirit of progress.

For every work with so wide a scope the question of how much space to allot to each country and each period is of basic importance. In this volume 457 of the 638 pages deal with the period prior to 1848. This detailed discussion of the seminal period of socialism will be a help to many researchers and others who want to find information on even some of the more obscure authors. But as part of a complete history of socialism, even when planned as a three-volume work, the extensive treatment of the early periods means that the right proportions have not been kept.

Because of the excessive claims that the initial part of this work made on the available space and presumably also on the intellectual energy of the editor and the contributors, there are big loopholes in what ought to have been presented in some contexts. The United States receives only passing reference; the reader is told nothing of the great significance of the North American continent as a laboratory of utopian socialism, both religious and secular, beyond the mentioning of Robert Owen's New Harmony; if Jean Bruhat, in his (otherwise excellent) section on French socialism from 1815 to 1848, had taken notice of the Fourierist movement in the United States under the leadership of Arthur Brisbane, he could hardly have maintained (p. 357) that Fourierism was less influential than Saint-Simonianism. The interaction of American socialism—mostly of the utopian kind—and the abolitionist and Free Soil movements would have deserved attention. Other important loopholes exist in the two sections by François Bedarida on Great Britain. Nothing is said there about the importance of the rise of Methodism and of the whole struggle between Chapel and Church for the labor movement and socialism; the pioneering role of Britain in factory legislation is hardly mentioned; the Industrial Revolution appears as an almost pure source of misery because all indications of a rising material standard of living are left unmentioned, whereas even as strict an opponent of the deification of technical progress as E. P. Thompson (*The Making of the English Working Class* [1963]) is inclined to assume that the mass consumption of goods in-

creased; the most interesting fact is precisely that this probable improvement could not prevent a widespread feeling of degradation, due, according to Thompson and others, to a forced change in living and working habits and to the disappearance of that modicum of security which the Elizabethan protective legislation had afforded.

Since the book is so organized as to show how the different tendencies in utopian socialism and in the labor movement eventually culminated in giving Marxism a dominant position—an approach with which I am in sympathy—the chapters by Jean Bruhat, about the place of *Das Kapital* in the history of socialism, and Annie Kriegel, on the First International, are of particular significance. The latter contribution is very good indeed. The Bruhat chapter gives a lucid and intelligent presentation of the content of Marx's main work, but it does not live up to the title's promise to describe the significance of each thought element in that work for the socialist movement. The effect of the ethical appeal emanating from the labor value theory, independently of the role which Marx himself assigned to that theory, receives no attention; nor does the conflict between the deterministic elements, especially the theory of the tendential fall of the rate of profit which amounts to a prophesy of doom for capitalism regardless of proletarian action, and the voluntaristic-revolutionary elements; the problem of possible disproportionality between consumer and producer goods production, discussed (incompletely) in the second volume of *Kapital*, is presented, but no hint is given that from this scheme a theory of imperialism was later derived by Rosa Luxemburg, Fritz Sternberg, and others.

The two volumes still to appear, which will cover the later periods, can hardly improve on the quality of analysis displayed in this first volume. It is to be hoped, however, that future volumes will show a better economy of space and select for analysis all the important ideas and events in the history of socialism. Finally, a modest request: why not give full bibliographical particulars for all quotations and citations, as was not done in most sections of the first volume?

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JOSÉ SÁNCHEZ. *Anticlericalism: A Brief History*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 244. \$8.95.

The anticlericalism that this book treats has to do with limiting or destroying power exercised, or thought to be exercised, by the Christian clergy. It has sometimes been a question of attitudes and at other times of programs. Dr. Sánchez describes anticlericalism as dogmatic, political, social, economic, educational, etc., in accord with the kind of clerical power against which it is directed. Ideological anticlericalism is seen as the conviction that any power exercised by the clergy is inherently abusive, no matter how it is used. Pragmatic anticlericalism is depicted as less grounded in theory; it is an attack upon a concrete type of power in the clergy that happens to stand in the way of a goal being sought by the anticlerical. Examples of the various forms of anticlericalism appear in these pages, though with far too few specific details.

Part 1 (pp. 3-75) sketches the development of anticlericalism in Western Christendom to the Reformation and thence in Catholic Christianity to the end of the eighteenth century. Eastern Orthodoxy and Protestantism are both excluded, while in the pre-Reformation period it is northern Europe that is looked at. Part 2 (pp. 79-207) deals with the Catholic anticlericalism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as displayed in Latin Europe and Latin America. The author's earlier study dealt with the religious aspects of the Spanish Civil War. A bibliography (pp. 225-34) suggests that individual monographs on anticlericalism are relatively rare, though it is surprising that J. Salwyn Schapiro's *Anticlericalism: Conflict Between Church and State in France, Italy and Spain* (1966) is not used in the relevant chapters (9-11).

Professor Sánchez, intending his book only as a brief survey of its subject, has based it heavily upon secondary studies. "Aside from the impossibility of finding primary sources for all the facts and ideas contained herein, it appears to me that easily available secondary works will be more useful to the student of anticlericalism" (p. ix). He is, of course, free to choose a methodology, but the result here has been a multitude of unnuanced generalizations (see pp. 47-48), some of which are con-

tradictory (see pp. 52 and 71 on papal control of bishops). The study is particularly weak in the patristic period where there is no hint of the anticlericalism of St. Jerome (*Epistle XXII*, ed. J. Labourt [1949], 1:110-60) nor of the very significant fourth canon of the council of Gangra in 343 (J. D. Mansi, *Concilia*, 2:1095-122), which indicates that there were Christians who boycotted the Eucharist when administered by married clergy.

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HAROLD E. PAGLIARO, editor. *Irrationalism in the Eighteenth Century*. (Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture: Proceedings, The American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, volume 2.) Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University. 1972. Pp. xxii, 393. \$9.95.

This volume of essays, originally given as papers in April 1971 at the second annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (ASECS), is testimony to the continuing growth of the organization and, in particular, to its interdisciplinary intentions. The essays are concerned with the literature, philosophy, politics, music, art, and science of mainly England, France, Germany, and America. Reading a collection like this reinforces our sense of the eighteenth century as a period of immense, wide-ranging curiosity and inquiry that produced an impressive diversity of answers and solutions. Yet always prompting the inquiry and defining the answers was a common concern to understand and improve the lot of man primarily by reliance upon his own powers. The trouble with traditional labels like Age of Reason and Enlightenment, which reflect our awareness of this common concern, has never been that they are untrue, but that they are only partially true, exerting reductionist pressures and tending to diminish or dismiss genuine responses to aspects of the period failing to fit snugly into the label. Perhaps it was with thoughts like this in mind that sponsors of the conference were moved to conceive a symposium on irrationalism in the eighteenth century. In any event it is a measure of how far we have come from Macaulay, Lecky, and Saintsbury that irrationalism can

be accepted as a reasonable focal point for a discussion of the Age of Reason.

The volume consists of a preface, ten essays on a variety of topics, and a symposium (which gives the volume its title) with an introduction and five essays. Also included are the ASECS program for 1971 and a list of its officers and members. The preface, by Harold E. Pagliaro, the editor of the volume, suggestively examines the unifying effects on the period of the new science and of the accompanying loss of faith in God. Of the first group of essays, I found those by Paul Henry Lang and R. F. Brissenden most impressive. Lang's essay is entitled "French Opera and the Spirit of the Revolution," and his theme, the "transformation of down-to-earth merriment" in the eighteenth-century French *opéra comique* into "bloody romantic tragedy" in nineteenth-century grand opera, is presented with unobtrusive wit and great scholarly authority. The shift from comedy to sentimentality in the French lyric theater, with the infiltration of bourgeois ideals and sentiments and the development of patriotic operas, historical tableaux, and dramatized hymns during the Revolution—these and other strands are woven into a fabric of exposition and argument that make Lang's piece thoroughly convincing.

Brissenden's essay, "La philosophie dans le boudoir; or, A Young Lady's Entrance into the World," is by far one of the best examinations of late eighteenth-century sensibility—its origins and effects, both psychological and literary—to have come along in quite some time. The basis of the essay, a comparison of Jane Austen's *Love and Friendship* and the Marquis de Sade's *La philosophie dans le boudoir*, while at first glance startling, is entirely sound. For these works share a common theme—the entrance of a young lady into the world, the theme of countless novels from Richardson on—a common purpose—to parody the novel of sensibility and to explore the psychology of sensibility, with its emphasis on moral excellence, sexual excitability, and personal weakness or impotence, and its pervasive influence on the most serious political, ethical, and social aspirations of the time. Though obviously differing in their ultimate moral intentions and in the intensity of their presenta-

tions, both Austen and Sade recognized the fundamental egotism of the sentimentalist, an egotism that Austen mocks, often sadistically, and that in Sade relieves itself in acts of violence and cruelty. *Clarissa* was embraced by the eighteenth-century world not simply because her problem was the problem of all men and women torn by the need for freedom and the need for society and acceptance, but because in examining the roots of this conflict Richardson discovered truths about human psychology that put all moral assumptions in doubt.

In the remaining essays of the first group, Louis Gottschalk distinguishes three generations of philosophes, dominated, in order, by Montesquieu, the *Encyclopédie*, and Condorcet; Henry Steele Commager emphasizes the cosmopolitanism and transcendence of learning in eighteenth-century Europe and America; Hugh M. Davidson speculates interestingly on the arrangement of material in the *Encyclopédie* as reflecting fundamental ways of viewing knowledge and relating it usefully to the reader; and Clifford A. Truesdell gives a somewhat repetitious and overly detailed account of the life and activities of the geometer Leonard Euler. Frederick J. Cummings finds a prefiguration of romanticism in the use of painting as a means of expanding human experience by drawing upon hitherto neglected sources of material—topographical, psychological, literary, and historical—and refreshingly insists that the strong desire to actualize the past in painting was not a desire to escape the present but rather to understand and to know the past. John Neubauer interprets Blake's symbol of the sick rose in the light of Kant's theory of art as "purposive without a purpose"; François Jost establishes the English and French sources of Tieck's *William Lovell*; and Sheldon Sacks considers *Clarissa* as a tragedy in the context of eighteenth-century theory. Sacks recognizes in *Clarissa* what many (wrongly, I think) may still deny—"the kind of 'artistic integrity' or 'synthesis' or 'sense of wholeness' that we normally reserve for our critical appraisal of novelists like Henry James."

After a brief introduction by Ralph Cohen, Bertrand H. Bronson opens the symposium on irrationalism with a precise account of the "retreat from reason," traced mainly in the grand movement toward the wilder forms of

nature, the return to salvation by faith, and the search for emotional rather than rational certainties. Three essays, by George Armstrong Kelly, George Rosen, and Paul Vernière, next explore political irrationalism ("unreasonableness" would perhaps be more accurate here); religious enthusiasm, the *Sturm und Drang* period, and various forms of quackery, eccentricity, and madness; and the persistence of demonology. The last essay, "The Irrational and the Problem of Historical Knowledge in the Enlightenment," by Hayden White, is a spirited yet balanced examination of the nineteenth-century charge that the Enlightenment was deficient in historical sensibility, especially with regard to manifestations of the irrational in the Middle Ages and antiquity. While giving full credit to the complex irony of Voltaire, Hume, and Gibbon, an irony that saved them from simple-minded distinctions between past and present, White nevertheless insists upon the failure of Enlightenment historians to see historical knowledge as a "problem," that is, to see, as did Vico, that history and fable are not easily separated and that fable may indeed provide us with structures of feeling wholly reliable and "truthful" in their reports of individual and social relationships and actions. The re-discovery and freeing of the feelings that is generally suggested by the term "sentimentalism" emerges in one way or another in all five essays forming the symposium, and it may well be that "irrationalism" was not the happiest choice of terms to define the many ways by which feeling as a mode of apprehension legitimately and fruitfully manifested itself in the century.

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COLIN SIMPSON. *The Lusitania*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1973. Pp. xii, 303. \$8.95.

Colin Simpson, a British journalist, has written a best-selling shocker. He provides a great deal of information about the *Lusitania* that is mingled with an appalling amount of misinformation. The problem is to determine which is which. Quoted material is almost invariably presented with imprecision; imagined

conversations are put into the mouths of the participants; details not in the cited sources are manufactured; some of the footnoted documents are unlocatable; surmise and suspicion are presented as facts; and wrong, even contradictory, conclusions are drawn from the evidence. Much of the time one wonders if the book is history or hoax.

The thrust of Simpson's account is that the Germans were justified, morally if not legally, in torpedoing what is described as a munitions-carrying "armed" merchant cruiser, protected by a living shield of Americans. Moreover, the British Admiralty, headed by Winston Churchill, deliberately exposed the liner in the hope of involving the United States. This unproved conspiracy thesis is not new. Soon after the tragedy numerous Germans or German sympathizers voiced it. Many of them also believed, in common with Simpson, that the vessel was really sunk by an exploding cargo of secret munitions, in addition to the officially listed rifle ammunition. Yet the cargo space was some fifty yards from the torpedo's impact.

Berlin charged that the *Lusitania* was equipped with "masked" guns. Simpson goes further and states that in September 1914 the ship had been armed with a formidable array of twelve six-inch guns, which, oddly enough, thousands of passengers never reported seeing on subsequent round-trip voyages from Liverpool. The author fails to document his accusation satisfactorily or prove that the second explosion was caused by munitions disguised as cheeses and packages of furs. If the ship had twelve six-inch mounted guns, she would have been a belligerent warship that could have been legitimately sunk without warning. Actually she was armed with secret instructions to ram hostile German submarines, and this fact alone might have caused her to be regarded by an impartial court, which President Wilson was not, as fair game. Surprisingly the author fails to develop this crucial point.

Simpson's deliberate exposure accusation—one is reminded of Roosevelt and Pearl Harbor—flies in the face of common sense. As the German military men themselves recognized, the United States was more useful to the Allies as a neutral supplier than as a blockaded belligerent; and there was no guarantee that the Americans would fight over a British ship. If

Captain Turner had only followed his wartime cruising instructions and heeded the wireless warnings sent by the same Admiralty that was allegedly trying to sink the *Lusitania*, he doubtless would have arrived safely in Liverpool.

Diplomatic aspects of the controversy are misleadingly developed. Incredibly Simpson has Robert Lansing, both as counselor and secretary of state, dominating Wilson, who obviously was less swayed by the alleged illegality than by the wholesale slaughter of men, women, and babies. Berlin proposed arbitration, but an outraged Wilson spurned it and the Germans finally consented to pay an indemnity, without acknowledging the wrongfulness of their deed. The *Lusitania* catastrophe was clearly the single most sensational "atrociousness" of the war, but the destruction of this British ship did not "cause" American participation nearly two years later, as Simpson leads us to believe. Not until German U-boats began to sink United States ships did Congress reluctantly declare war. The *Lusitania* was but one of a number of headline incidents that predisposed the American people to accept the conflict that a desperate Germany "thrust" upon them.

The insoluble problem, one might conclude, was that of adjusting the old sailing-ship rules of visit and search to the new technology of naval warfare. Britain had established an illegal "hunger blockade" late in 1914, and early the next year Germany had countered with an illegal submarine blockade. Wilson, with pro-Ally leanings, insisted that the Germans emasculate their most effective offensive weapon, while not demanding that the British emasculate theirs. Yet no embattled power is going to abandon a potent new weapon, whether submarine or atomic bomb, simply because it violates international law or "the laws of humanity." Twenty-four years later a German U-boat brutally torpedoed the British passenger steamer *Athenia* on the first day of Britain's entrance into World War II. After Pearl Harbor American submarines routinely sank Japanese merchant ships without warning. If international usage is international law, this is the new international law.

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R. P. DUA. *Anglo-Japanese Relations during the First World War*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company; distrib. by South Asia Books, Columbia, Mo. 1972. Pp. xii, 230. \$8.50.

The First World War was a decisive landmark in the evolution of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. It revealed the considerable advantages derived by each country from their partnership and the strains implicit in the alliance. Great Britain secured important direct aid from Japan, particularly in the naval sphere, and cooperation helped to ensure that Japan did not change sides and support Germany. Japan gained immensely in economic strength, in prestige, and in effective consolidation of her emerging role as the leading power in East Asia. Japan's might and the critical American attitude to Japan meant that the future of the alliance was uncertain by the end of the war.

A number of studies have appeared in recent years utilizing British and Japanese sources to chart the course of Anglo-Japanese relations, the most outstanding being Ian Nish's *Alliance In Decline* (1972). Dr. Dua's work comes as a distinct disappointment. It is based principally upon articles from English periodicals, contemporary to the period under discussion; older secondary authorities (predominantly dating from before the Second World War); and British documents from the collection edited by Gooch and Temperley, supplemented by a limited selection of Foreign Office and Cabinet Office papers from the archives at the Public Record Office, London. Most of the latter, however, have already been cited in other publications. The title is misleading; the greater part of the work is devoted to a discussion of Anglo-Japanese relations before 1914 and to an excessively protracted examination of the situation in August 1914. There is no comprehensive analysis of developments between 1914 and 1918. The treatment of British policy is discursive and the observations on Japan generally superficial. The study is marred by an appreciable number of minor typographical errors.

PETER LOWE
University of Manchester

RICHARD H. ULLMAN. *Anglo-Soviet Relations, 1917-1921*. Volume 3, *The Anglo-Soviet Accord*.

Princeton: Princeton University Press, for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University. 1972. Pp. xv, 509. Cloth \$17.50, paper \$9.50.

The third and final volume of Professor Richard Ullman's book on Anglo-Soviet relations in the narrow time span of 1917 to 1921 was completed after the author's service for a year on the staff of the National Security Council and the Policy Planning Staff in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defence for International Security Affairs. He writes: "I have no hesitation in saying that the . . . experience . . . was contributive of more insights into the politics of policy making, and the political processes of large organizations in general, than any academic work I have undertaken."

Professor Ullman is not very explicit as to the lessons he learned in government. They seem to be that policy is the result of conflicts between individuals and departments of state; that financial exigencies affect policy very greatly and sometimes exclusively; and that the writing of memorandums is an important element of this process of decision making and above all illustrates the glorious haphazardness of the decision-making process. One is forcibly reminded of *Clochmerle*, where the decision whether to send troops or police into the offending village was taken by two junior officials in the ministry cellars on the basis of drawing lots!

Of course, if Professor Ullman's judgments on state service as an aid for the historian are correct it means that other historians, and they are in the great majority, who have not had and never will have the opportunity to work in a large organization like the government will find that their work is academically poorer than of those who have had this experience. I hope he is wrong, and certainly this book does not seem to give any indication to show he is right.

This volume, like the two previous ones, is rather a study of British politics than of Anglo-Soviet relations. It shows the factors that shaped British policy toward the Bolsheviks. The first of these was the determination of Lloyd George to bring about peace with the Bolsheviks—and the determination of Lloyd George was something to contend with. Lloyd George's first and foremost reason was the fi-

nancial disability of the British government to continue the war against the Bolsheviks, especially in the face of left-wing opposition and the danger of a radicalization of working-class politics in England. Lloyd George's conception was to support the White Russian forces; in other words, to get rid of the Bolsheviks without the financial and political costs that massive intervention by British troops would mean. As early as November 1919 he said at the Lord Mayor's banquet: "We have given them [the Russians] the opportunity, if Russia wished to be liberated, of equipping her sons in order to free themselves. . . . We have held positions of danger in that country until the Russians were prepared to hold them themselves. . . . We cannot, of course, afford to continue so costly an intervention in an interminable civil war."

Second, Lloyd George imagined that the economic restoration of Europe required that Russia should play a role in international economic relations similar to that she had played before the war. In those days she had been a major exporter of wheat and also of flax and timber. Lloyd George said in the House of Commons: "We have failed to restore Russia to sanity by force. I believe we can save her by trade. Commerce has a sobering influence in its operations. The simple sums in addition and subtraction which it inculcates soon dispose of wild theories. The Russian with his head in the clouds finds he is cold, and discovers that he is not clad and that he is hungry. He has no machinery for his land, and although it has been given to him, he realizes that he cannot plough his land with title deeds, even if they are written by the Soviet Government."

Third, and more intangibly, Lloyd George saw himself as one of the major architects of the peace with Germany who was going to finish the task of pacification by making peace with Russia. Professor Ullman mentions (or rather, implies) this motivation on only one occasion in his book, yet it was important to a man as vain as the prime minister and, moreover, one who needed foreign triumphs to buttress his weak parliamentary position.

Professor Ullman writes that the whole policy toward Russia must be seen as part of a more general policy of appeasement that marked British conduct of international affairs

after the war. The roots of appeasement are indeed to be found in the immediate years after the war. Britain's leaders were acutely conscious that though the Empire was vast and overextended—its extent had been increased by the mandate territories—Britain did not have the resources to defend it. Sir Henry Wilson, the chief of the Imperial general staff, noted "the danger, the extreme danger, of His Majesty's Army being spread all over the world, strong nowhere, weak everywhere, and with no reserve to save a dangerous situation or to avert a coming danger."

There were, of course, other actors on the scene, not least Lord Curzon and the Russians Krasin and Kamenev. The government was well informed about the Russians and their activities because they intercepted and deciphered the telegrams that the Russians received. None of the authorities on this subject, as Professor Ullman notes, mention this successful espionage in their books. All this activity had as its backcloth the Russo-Polish War. Professor Ullman remains convinced that even if the Russians had succeeded in taking Poland, the British would not have intervened. All this is splendid material, and Professor Ullman knows how to tell a story well.

HARRY HANAK

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CHRISTOPHER THORNE. *The Limits of Foreign Policy: The West, the League and the Far Eastern Crisis of 1931-1933*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1973. Pp. xx, 442. \$12.95.

CHRISTIAN BLICKENSTORFER. *Die Haltung der englischen Regierung während der mandschurischen Krise (1931-1933)*. (Abhandlung zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät I der Universität Zürich.) Zurich: Juris Druck Verlag. 1972. Pp. xi. 222.

Christopher Thorne's tightly packed study is by far the fullest and most balanced account available of Japanese success and Western failure in the Far Eastern crisis of 1931-33. A previous reviewer (John Gittings in the *New York Review of Books* of May 17, 1973) has faulted Thorne for not seeing that Japan was allowed to have her way because the Western powers believed her triumph in China would keep her imperialist appetite, so like their own, within

bounds. Actually, Thorne recognizes the pressures generated by competing "imperialisms," but unlike his critic he tackles the hard task of relating an overall set of attitudes and values to the day-by-day and week-by-week decisions various people found themselves required to make. As he points out, for example, in discussing the Lytton Commission, it is not at all surprising to find in its final report the assumption of the universal significance and leadership of Western civilization. After all, the men who made up the commission were, whatever their particular views, men whose careers underlined their total acceptance of such assumptions. The very fact that he thoroughly tests his conceptual notions carefully against the routine, concrete behavior that appears in the documents adds depth and authority to the generalizations Thorne makes.

Most of the conclusions that emerge from Thorne's detailed description of policymaking in London, Washington, Geneva, and Paris are fairly obvious. But he illustrates them with the most substantial weight of evidence thus far displayed in support of such findings. The Far Eastern crisis certainly did not "cause" the events that followed in Europe. Long before 1931-33, a future German chancellor was attacking ideas such as belief in understanding, world peace, the League of Nations, and international solidarity. It did not require the failure to deal with Japan to prepare the way for Nazi aggression. Similarly, the comfortable notion that Japan could have been stopped in the early thirties fades perceptibly in the light of Thorne's assessment of the obstacles to Western success, both in the East and among the Western powers themselves. The League itself had little capability for "independent" action, whatever that might have meant, and the Japan-China issue brought into focus some of its main inherent weaknesses. Whether such weaknesses were insurmountable is of course another question, but they did exist in 1931.

As for the major powers, the professionals of the Quai d'Orsay made certain that the politicians engaged in no adventurous initiatives; by and large they accepted the inevitability, and even the desirability, of Japan's enhanced position in China. Relations between the United States and Britain deteriorated substantially by

the end of the crisis. The British, on the whole, were probably better informed than the Americans, but both managed to make a difficult situation worse by almost constant clumsiness. The evident tension in America between President Hoover and Secretary of State Stimson, to say nothing of Stimson's own vacillations and self-righteous moralism, was paralleled by the ambivalences of a British policy fluctuating between the pragmatism of the services and of civil servants, the unrealistic and legalistic notions of Sir John Simon, and the desire to maintain at least a fig leaf of support for the League. Japan contributed to the difficulties of her own position by an uncoordinated, sometimes incoherent policy, coupled with failure to comprehend the political culture of another society. In these circumstances, to accept what many observers did accept for a long time, that Japan could easily have been turned back, and that such a reversal might have prevented a second modern Armageddon, is clearly untenable.

The same conclusions emerge from Christian Blickenstorfer's study of British policy during the crisis. In some ways it is a pity that this sound Zurich doctoral thesis should appear almost simultaneously with the richer, more complex, more ambitious work by Thorne. Blickenstorfer uses the archival material to demonstrate how the British government was caught in the dilemma posed by the conflicting claims of "traditional" attitudes, the American connection, League policy, and Dominion interests. Like Thorne, he concludes that the British government, and perhaps especially the foreign secretary, managed to maintain some stability of policy in the face of these conflicting pressures. Whether such stability was in the best long-run interests of Britain may well be questioned, but the conclusion in effect reiterates what Thorne argues in greater detail and greater sophistication.

One final comment may be appropriate. Thorne has peppered his impressive account with a number of conceptual formulations drawn from contemporary political science, mainly in international relations and group behavior theory. While a great deal of such analysis is potentially valuable, I found it difficult to relate many of the generalizations at all ade-

quately to the material presented. But it is useful, I am willing to concede, to make the attempt.

HENRY R. WINKLER
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ANCIENT

P. A. L. GREENHALGH. *Early Greek Warfare: Horsemen and Chariots in the Homeric and Archaic Ages*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1973. Pp. xvi. 212. \$17.50.

Mr. Greenhalgh's thesis is that "the Dark Age bards have heroized and archaized warfare of their own experience by transferring to the heroic chariot the military and social functions of the mounted horse" (p. 41). A preliminary note on chronology defines the terms to be used and characterizes the various periods, citing the archaeological authorities used. The introduction, which outlines the argument and organization, may be combined here with the chapters themselves.

Chapter 1 demonstrates the unhistorical, non-Mycenaean nature of Homeric chariot use, which was for transport only. Chapter 2 uses Late Geometric chariot representations (limited to racing and processional types) to show that Homeric chariot use cannot be a backward reflection from the warfare of the bards' own time. Chapter 3 attempts to resolve the contradictory Homeric chariot picture (great numbers and apparent importance versus strategic uselessness and even nuisance value of commuting and parked vehicles) by seeing the chariot picture as a combination of a glorified, but not understood, tradition of Bronze Age chariotry with the tactics of later mounted warfare, where the horse is used largely for transport. The author cites the parallel conversion of the Geometric iron throwing spear into bronze to the virtual exclusion of the proper Mycenaean thrusting spear and shows how, despite the clear suppression of the mounted horse, the Homeric vocabulary is often more suitable to the rider than the driver.

In Chapter 4 there is a discussion of how the study of two shields (the Dipylon, which gives elbow room, and the double-grip hoplite, which cannot easily be slung around to protect the back) can be used to illumine the kind of warfare in which they were used, and how the

invention of the latter influenced the development of the hoplite phalanx, which in turn gradually reduced the role of the horse as transport and encouraged the evolution of a true cavalry force. Chapters 5 and 6 "illustrate the evolution of the roles of the mounted warrior in the seventh and sixth centuries, mainly by means of a detailed, descriptive catalogue of the contemporary vase-paintings" (p. 4), as well as occasional testimony from contemporary poets. Chapter 7 summarizes the history of the horse in early Greek warfare and explores the social and political ramifications of the hoplite reform and the development of a true cavalry. An appendix examines other aspects of Homeric historicity to show how generally applicable is Greenhalgh's particular position on warfare: that the Homeric picture is two-faced, with a consistent Dark Age basis and an archaizing and heroizing veneer.

Although the available evidence is often obscure and very fragmentary and difficult to interpret, not only has Greenhalgh marshaled impressive proof of his thesis, but he has also presented an extremely useful survey of the data, well annotated and conveniently illustrated. It is not his fault that one very large assumption had to be made before either poetry or painting could be used to prove anything: that poets and painters must have had historical and representational consciences. For example, the absence of massed chariot fighting in Homer may, like the absence of massed infantry fighting, not be ignorance of Mycenaean warfare but only an epic concern with individual encounters, because they are more heroic or because, from a descriptive point of view, the duel is the lowest common denominator of battle narrative.

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J. K. DAVIES. *Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 B.C.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. xxxi, 653, 6 tables. \$24.00.

Connoisseurs of historical literature will find in Davies's work an intriguing contrast between massive infrastructure and thin, ill-supported superstructure. The Arabic-numbered pages provide a detailed list of all men of property in Athens. The criterion for selection is primarily an attestation of their holding the trierarchy or

other expensive Athenian post (the liturgies), though the author cannot resist including some well-known figures on other grounds. Insofar as possible these men are grouped by families; foldout charts give the more complicated *stemmata*. Davies is not concerned with their political careers; his discussion concentrates on their family links and the evidence for their wealth.

In a much briefer introductory section (in Roman numerals) the author indicates that the purpose of this labor is "to assemble a corpus of evidence" by which one may assess the influences and limitations of wealth in Athenian public life. The historian of almost any epoch might assent subjectively to the proposition that its men of wealth exercised a considerable influence; does Davies's industry prove the extent of its validity for Athens? Scarcely. For most persons in his list, we know no more than name and office. Under the letter alpha some 434 individuals are listed or cross-indexed; Davies can write a significant paragraph or more about the family or wealth of only 44 (under this letter; some men are listed with their families elsewhere). Even where information exists, it is difficult to assess the wealth of, say, Pericles (pp. 459–60) in any quantifiable terms. Worse yet, as Davies properly shows in his introduction, we have the names of less than one per cent of those who held the liturgies in the fourth century; for the post of trierarch the situation is little better. Real illumination of forces at work in Athenian politics has recently been provided by Daverio Rocchi and W. Robert Connor; Davies goes no farther than providing his list.

The discussion of the various individuals caught up in Davies's net will remain enduringly useful, though demographic methods employed in modern history will scarcely be able to derive much profit from the scattered remains of the Athenian upper classes here assembled. The author has brought Kirchner and Sundwall up to date and gives wide citation of relevant modern literature; this is not the place to argue about specific points. Within the first four lines there is a mistake in the Greek, and other minor errors occur later; still, the Clarendon Press has done well with a complicated text.

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E. BADIAN. *Publicans and Sinners: Private Enterprise in the Service of the Roman Republic*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1972. Pp. 170. \$6.00.

In this excellent little book Professor Badian examines the developing role of those private entrepreneurs, *publicani*, who supplied goods and services under contract to the state. Drawing on a variety of scholarly material, much of it his own, Badian paints a reasonable and largely convincing picture of publican economic and political activity during the Republic. The book should find immediate use as a corrective to Frank's noneconomic, economic interpretations and to Toynbee's recent all-too-modern account.

Badian establishes the existence of publicans, organized in companies, at least as early as the authentic Republican tradition. During the second century a significant expansion of publican economic activity occurred both at home and abroad, together with a corresponding growth in their wealth and the first indication, in 169 B.C., of publican influence among the *equites*. Important publicans, essentially aristocratic equestrian businessmen without political ambition, did not question the Senate's right to govern; nor did they question, before the Gracchi, the social and moral superiority of landed wealth. Conflicts with the Senate were over contract terms, not access to office; the Senate remained in firm control, and the system generally worked to the credit of the publicans and the advantage of the state. Competition for contracts remained high and specialization low among *publicani* until the Asian taxes presented insurmountable difficulties. In particular, Pompey's Eastern settlement necessitated formation of a cartel to acquire the Asian contracts in order to avoid a drastic overbid such as occurred in 61 B.C. The absence of competition is matched by the disappearance of the distinction between those engaged in public business and those in public administration. Gaius Gracchus had placed the criminal courts in the hands of wealthy, nonpolitical *equites*—recently separated from the senatorial class—thereby creating a constitutional check on the untrustworthy oligarchy and extending the political influence of the larger *publicani* among the *equites* without assigning governmental responsibility to the financially ori-

ented aristocrats. Eventually the *equites* (especially the publicans) acted irresponsibly in court and precipitated oligarchic attempts to negate their power, a plan realized only after Sulla's bloodletting, when senators returned to power and to the courts. It was a Senate, however, in which a majority came from the equestrian order. As *equites* came to reflect the financial outlook of the publicans, senators now shared the economic interests of the Senate's newest members. A *concordia ordinum* existed, but to the detriment of provincials and not infrequently of publicans themselves, once some governors found it more profitable to cut out the *publicani* by working directly with local aristocrats. Badian rightly concludes that whether the *publicani* were sinners or not largely depended on the governmental officials: "The key to the problem of private enterprise . . . lies in those who govern and in the principles and practices of government."

One does not have to agree with Badian that the silence of our biased aristocratic sources, including Polybius, is evidence for a lack of collusion between senators and *equites* (including *publicani*) during the second century and earlier. Indeed, collusion may in part account for the lack of evidence, just as it certainly explains why senators at some point were forbidden by law to take part in all but sacred contracts. Here senatorial disregard for the *lex Claudia* (218 B.C.) is illustrative. However, such disagreements can not detract from my praise for this volume of published lectures, the excellence of which assures us that we can look forward to other equally excellent lecture-books.

RICHARD E. MITCHELL
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MARION ELIZABETH BLAKE. *Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva through the Antonines*. Edited and completed by DORIS TAYLOR BISHOP. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, volume 96.) Philadelphia: the Society. 1973. Pp. xix, 328, 17 plans, 36 plates. \$15.00.

This, the third of Professor Blake's volumes on Roman techniques of construction, represents an act of *pietas*, as did her first volume. Esther B. Van Deman was, during the early years of this century, a leading expert on Roman con-

struction. Though she published many articles and one important study of aqueducts (1934), she had not, when she died in 1937, completed a comprehensive study for the Republic. Miss Blake composed Dr. Van Deman's materials and made many contributions of her own to produce *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus* (1947). Miss Blake then carried forward the work on her own, in *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians* (1959). She was collecting material and preparing drafts for the present volume when she died in 1961. With *pietas* similar to Miss Blake's, Doris Taylor Bishop undertook to put Miss Blake's material into publishable form, again with many contributions of her own. Unfortunately she died in 1969. Her husband, Professor John David Bishop, therefore finished the present volume as a pious memorial to his wife. He modestly plays down his own contribution in rewriting, in checking references, and in adding a preface and summary conclusion; what he did would have fully justified adding his name on the title page alongside those of Miss Blake and his wife.

It is to be regretted that a continuation of the series into the Late Empire seems unlikely. However, it may be noted that two years before the appearance of Miss Blake's second volume, Giuseppe Lugli, then the leading Italian scholar in the field, published *La Tecnica edilizia romana con particolare riguardo a Roma e Lazio* (1957). Lugli covers Roman construction from the earliest monuments to Theodoric (A.D. 526). His arrangement is by materials of construction, and—except in chapter 1, on stone building—he arranges each chapter by periods. Miss Blake likewise presented her first volume on the Republic by materials. In the other two, she discussed the buildings of individual emperors in Rome, in Ostia, and in the rest of Italy; that is, for the Empire her presentation is more chronological than is Lugli's. Her three volumes have a convenient, if extravagant, device of placing the notes in columns down the outer margins of the pages, opposite the statements to which they refer.

Miss Blake's present study, like its two predecessors, is important but specialized. It is a reference work on individual buildings and techniques and would most readily be used in study-

ing the actual remains. It is not a survey for the general reader, or even for the Roman historian who uses archeological evidence. Yet the material which it presents has historical significance. The Roman Empire was the first extensive territorial state in the West whose major monuments were not built simply to satisfy the needs or enhance the glory of rulers and gods. The Romans did indeed build vast palaces (such as that on the Palatine or Hadrian's villa below Tivoli) and magnificent temples (such as the Pantheon or the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina). But they scattered throughout their empire buildings for public use: basilicas, amphitheaters, theaters, market places (*fora*), baths, aqueducts, roads, bridges, ports, and so on. Miss Blake documents from the material remains the realization under the Empire of the concept that government exists to benefit not the rulers but the ruled.

MASON HAMMOND
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F. W. WALBANK. *Polybius*. (Sather Classical Lectures, volume 42.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 201. \$8.50.

Professor Walbank's reputation as an authority on Polybius is firmly established by the volumes of his *Historical Commentary on Polybius* and his numerous articles on special problems. Now in his Sather Lectures, delivered at Berkeley in 1971, he is able to offer us "a more general book about his particular author." Some readers might have welcomed a more descriptive account, illustrated with extensive quotations in a readable translation, but Walbank prefers to face some of the many problems that this difficult author presents. He offers us, therefore, a careful and fully documented discussion of some *Polybiosfragen*. Among other things, he is particularly concerned to discover how the historian's thought and procedure were shaped by his detention in Italy, which gave him the opportunity to meet Roman politicians and become friendly with the younger Scipio and his circle and also to discuss issues of the day with various personages from the Greek world who visited Rome on diplomatic business.

This is the theme of the first chapter. The

next two chapters are concerned with Polybius's opinions on other historians and historical methods, in particular his adoption of some of the purposes and characteristics of Thucydides and his decision to describe and explain the "facts" of war and politics in what he called *pragmatike historia*. Polybius never actually praises Thucydides (as Walbank points out, "he did not find praising a very congenial activity"), but unmistakable echoes of Thucydidean phrases reveal his admiration. It is useful to be reminded, at the same time, that he seems not to have been familiar with a wide range of Greek poetry or philosophy.

Walbank pays special attention to the long digressions of book 6 and book 12 and the geographical discussion of book 34. The fragmentary state of Polybius's text means that many questions cannot be answered confidently, and one cannot be sure how successfully he may have reconciled in lost portions of the text what appears to be inconsistent or incoherent in his argument. After treating the familiar problems of book 6 and its sources with appropriate reserve, Walbank goes on to consider how far the doctrine of the mixed constitution may have blinded Polybius to such realities of Roman political life as the domination of the *nobiles* throughout the period he is discussing. He concludes that Polybius's admiration of Rome must have waned in his later years after his return to Greece. He could hardly approve of a policy that led to the destruction of Carthage and Corinth, even though the theoretical basis for the policy seemed to him to be sound. The thought of Polybius is not always clear, and more than one "serious contradiction" has to be pointed out in his account of Roman imperialism. One is left to ponder in what proportions the blame for such contradictions must be divided between Polybius and the makers of Roman policy in the second century.

LIONEL PEARSON
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MEDIEVAL

WOLFGANG H. FRITZE. *Papst und Frankenkönig: Studien zu den päpstlich-fränkischen Rechtsbeziehungen von 754 bis 824*. (Vorträge und

Forschungen, number 10.) Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 1973. Pp. 99. DM 22.

This study of the legal meaning of the known agreements made between the papacy and the Frankish rulers between 754 and 824 attempts to resolve two old problems regarding the nature of the relationship between the two powers: first, do the ecclesiastical teachings on the protective responsibilities of the Frankish kings for the papacy have justification in the sources; second, was there, in addition, a special papal-Frankish bond of friendship.

Acknowledging the difficulties inherent in the problem since all the surviving sources emanated from the papal chancery, Fritze begins with an analysis of the *Pactum Ludovicianum* of 817, which, following J. Ficher and T. H. Sickel, he accepts as authentic. After a careful and critical examination of the document and a lengthy debate with the many students who have written on the subject, he persuasively concludes that the *Pactum* was indeed a protective agreement between the two powers, whereby the emperor promised to defend the properties, incomes, and privileges of the Roman Church. There was, besides, a personal, reciprocal oath of friendship, a *foedus fidei et caritatis*, which, established only at the personal level, was automatically dissolved with the death of one party and had to be renewed by the new pope or emperor.

Fritze argues logically that the agreement of 817 was actually based on the alliances of 796 between Charlemagne and Leo III, of 774-775 between Charles and Hadrian I, and of 754 between Pippin III and Stephen III. The author sees the agreement of 824 between Louis the Pious and Stephen IV as the watershed in papal-imperial relationships, which then did not change until the *Pactum Ottonianum* of 926. The book supports the belief of most scholars that there existed both a protective treaty and an oath of friendship. Its chief contribution lies in the valuable discussion of the large bibliographical literature on the problem of Church-state relations in the Carolingian period.

BENNETT D. HILL
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CHRISTOPHER BROOKE. *Medieval Church and Society: Collected Essays* [New York:] New York University Press. 1972. Pp. 256. \$8.50.

WALTER ULLMANN. *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages*. [London:] Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1972. Pp. 389. \$14.50.

These two volumes, while the work of two established British scholars who have their eyes on the same medieval church, have more points at variance than in agreement. Professor Brooke's volume consists of twelve essays, "every one of [which] started its career as a lecture" (p. 20). His style is light, his thinking consistently lucid. His reader moves forward in relaxed fashion, quite willing to accept extravagant statements such as "Gregory [VII] was the world's worst judge of character" (p. 63) as within the prerogatives of the speaker who must keep his audience awake. Professor Ullmann's style is not the sort that will attract the general reader, despite the promise of the book's title that it presents a simple survey of the papacy's history in an easy, impersonal style. Professor Ullman never permits the reader to relax. He writes as a controversialist, as one either defending a position he knows to be under attack or staking out a new one that will invite protest. Professor Brooke selected a variety of subjects, all of them a delight for him to write about, a delight he has reason to feel his readers will share. Professor Ullmann hews closely to his one theme of the papacy, and he writes to enlighten, never to entertain. The reader of his volume, perhaps as much confused as informed in the end, will lay down the book with the relief of a battered prizefighter who is glad the contest is over.

Professor Brooke opens the introduction to his essays with the abrupt statement that "history is an imaginative subject," then reassures the puzzled reader that it is imaginative in the sense of seeking to imagine what people were like in the past. Even the scholar who traffics in hard research may agree that imagination has a role in the business of interpreting the past, and furthermore, that since imaginations vary with individuals, only after weighing interpretations advanced by differing historians can something approaching an accurate understanding of the past be achieved.

In his first essay, "The Dullness of the Past,"

Professor Brooke reminds the historian that his task goes beyond recreating the past. He must "spend a part of his time proving to the world that history is not dull" (p. 24), and he has a better chance of accomplishing this if his writing reveals acquaintance with facets of culture beyond his own specialization. In "Problems of the Church Historian" he insists that scholarly writing can be done by men who refuse to turn away from their personal religious beliefs. Some readers may question scattered statements in the essay "Hildebrand," but not the author's analysis of Gregory VII as less comfortable than Henry IV at Canossa, however deep the snow outside the castle walls. According to "Gregorian Reform in Action: Clerical Marriage in England, 1050-1200," celibacy became fashionable among the upper clergy after the first quarter of the twelfth century. In "Approaches to Medieval Forgery" he finds forgery to have been both a common and frequently justifiable practice during the first half of the twelfth century. His sympathy for the archbishop shows through in "Becket," even to the extent of suggesting that Henry planned the prelate's murder. "Heresy and Religious Sentiment: 1000-1250" makes a plea for more information regarding movements of unorthodoxy less well known than the Waldensian and Albigensian. The essay "Religious Sentiment and Church Design in the Later Middle Ages," a witness to the author's catholicity of interests, attributes such architectural developments as the enclosing of the sanctuary to the newly established devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. Professor Brooke is on the side of the popes against Frederick II in "Innocent III and Gregory IX," but not all scholars will agree that most contemporaries felt as he does. So acute does he judge the perceptive powers of Sabatier in "Paul Sabatier and St. Francis of Assisi," that he is sure "all those who have contributed to revising his errors would admit that they often saw the truth reflected in the mirror of [the biographer's] errors" (pp. 211-12). In "St. Dominic and his First Biographer" he finds convincing proof of Dominic's profound humility in the question readers customarily ask about Jordan, Dominic's first biographer: whether he was writing about the order or its founder. "The Merchant of Prato" introduces an Italian merchant of the fourteenth century

whose anticlericalism in no way belies the genuineness of his piety or his love of the poor.

Professor Ullmann begins his provocative survey of the history of the papacy with the startling statement that "it was very largely the challenge by Constantinople and the response and reaction by the papacy which in vital and basic respects determined the path of this institution" (p. 2). To support this thesis he declares the establishment of its primatial claims in Constantinople was as much an objective of the papacy in encouraging Crusades as was the possession of the Holy Places. Even as late as the fifteenth century Constantinople "once more proved of decisive importance" (p. 308), since its offer to send an embassy west to consider the ending of the schism prompted the pope to move the council from Basel to Ferrara, a step that ultimately led to the demise of conciliarism. It is views such as these that leave the reader uneasy, along with more familiar ones such as the author's well-known descending and ascending themes of government. He maintains that until the close of the thirteenth century the Western world was willing to endorse the papal position that authority descended from God through the Church to secular rulers. Professor Ullmann has even proud kings conducting themselves accordingly, including Henry IV, whom he has making a humble submission to Gregory VII at Canossa, a submission that was actually dictated by the situation in Germany, not by Henry's fear of Gregory.

Professor Ullmann does not reach beyond Constantine's act of toleration, since nothing of moment to the history of the papacy antedated that act. He omits mention of Ambrose in describing the Church's struggle for a superior voice in matters spiritual, and later attributes Gregory the Great's interest in converting Britain and Germany to that pontiff's conviction that Constantinople would never recognize Rome's leadership. But Western monarchs were quite willing to do so, even Charlemagne, who on December 23, 800, agreed "in all humility" to accept the pope's suggestion that he be called emperor. The author declares that "the pseudo-isidorian decretals exercised an unparalleled influence on the papacy" (p. 101) and left that institution so powerful that even during the period when German kings were

making and unmaking popes, "without the pope's active intervention there was no emperor in the West" (p. 124). When the author appeals to technicalities such as this, he leaves the reader questioning the eminently solid portions of his work.

Innocent III receives less attention than one might expect, although the author's concern is not individual popes but the papacy. He does select Innocent's pontificate to introduce an informative chapter about the constitution and working of the papal curia. Decline in both the efficiency of the curia and the quality of its head set in during the second half of the thirteenth century. Three factors contributed to the attenuation of papal power and leadership and their near extinction by the close of the Middle Ages. There was the rise of humanism, which led the West to adopt the ascending theory of government; namely, that authority came from below, from the people, not from God. The long preoccupation of the papacy with the German emperor left it incapable of dealing with kings. Finally, the "bearing and public and private conduct of virtually all the popes at that time not only failed to inspire respect, but produced contempt everywhere" (p. 319). This last is among the less original of Professor Ullmann's theories, but nonetheless equally debatable.

JOSEPH DAHMUS

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R. ALLEN BROWN. *Origins of English Feudalism*. (Historical Problems: Studies and Documents, 19.) New York: Barnes and Noble, 1973. Pp. xiii, 18-164. \$8.50.

Although *Origins of English Feudalism* is a volume in the Historical Problems series, the student reader is not left to ponder the evidence and perhaps misunderstand it. The relevant documents are preceded by a seventy-seven-page monograph containing Brown's own strongly argued analysis and conclusions. The documents are not so much historical raw materials as *pièces justificatives*.

The classic problem of English feudal origins has commanded the attention of such noted scholars as Stubbs, Freeman, Round, Maitland, Vinogradoff, Haskins, and Stenton. Urging that English feudalism came with the Conqueror, Brown adopts the "cataclysmic" hy-

pothesis of J. H. Round, which has been supported with some modifications by Haskins, Stenton, Hollister, Prestwich, Holt, and others, and opposed by Maitland, Richardson and Sayles, and Eric John. Brown returns to the pure doctrine of Round, without modification or compromise, and thus places himself at one extreme end of the spectrum of scholarly opinion.

In my judgment Round's position is generally correct, and Brown sets it forth with clarity and verve. Defining feudalism as an aristocratic military system involving knights, vassallic commendation, fiefs, and castles, he argues that the system was born in Carolingian France (accepting too uncritically the Brunner thesis of the rise of heavy cavalry in eighth-century Frankland and ignoring the criticisms of Bernard Bachrach and others). Next he traces French feudalism into pre-Conquest Normandy (following Haskins). Turning to the military organization of pre-Conquest England, he finds that it was fundamentally nonfeudal (following Hollister). Finally, he demonstrates that William the Conqueror, in the years following 1066, introduced Norman feudalism into nonfeudal England (following Round). Thus, point by point, Brown builds a persuasive case.

The basic difficulty with Brown's book is that it is not quite a "problem" book and not quite a monograph. Brown's essay is lucid but contains few surprises. His criticism of Hollings's evidence from the *Red Book of Worcester* and his defense of traditional views on the Norman origins of English castles against recent challenges are valuable and original; his definition of feudalism is penetrating. But by and large Brown has simply provided a vivid, well-documented restatement of the cataclysmic hypothesis, rearranging old evidence into a new organizational scheme. Generally speaking, the presentation commands assent, and the translated documents are pedagogically useful. The argument would be more convincing still if it were a little more sensitive to ambiguities and qualifications. One cannot help feeling that Brown's mind is altogether clearer than the historical process that he describes.

C. WARREN HOLLISTER
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Santa Barbara

HELEN M. JEWELL. *English Local Administration in the Middle Ages*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1972. Pp. 238. \$12.00.

This is a work of synthesis rather than of original research. Miss Jewell has read and absorbed all the recent literature on English local government in the Middle Ages and has synthesized it with the older material. The work is descriptive rather than analytical, and it is historical in its coverage. For example, in chapter 7, "The Work of the Sheriff and His Staff," we hear about the origins of the office in the Anglo-Saxon period before we hear about the important developments in the office from the Conquest to the sixteenth century.

The most interesting chapters are the last three, those that deal with the functions of local officers and offices. Chapter 4, on financial administration, and chapter 5, on judicial administration, are instructive on the haphazard character of local financial administration and on the growing power of the justices of the peace on judicial administration.

The book is very lightly documented; in fact, too lightly documented for my reassurance. For example, I read on page 124 that the county court in 1268 lost the "right to review decisions of the hundred." (See also page 132.) In a general book like this, I should like to be reminded of the how and why. On page 126 I read that "the government accepted in 1261 that general eyres of the justices be limited to visitation of a county every seven years." Again I should like to be reminded of the how and why.

The glossary appended suggests that the book is written for those who need to know a little more of the how and why. There is a valuable appendix pointing out the importance of clerics in local administration, and there is a bibliography to supplement the chapter-by-chapter documentation.

This should be a useful book to anyone starting out in research on local governmental institutions and operation.

MARGARET HASTINGS
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E. PAULINE EBDEN, editor. *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Second Year of the Reign of King Henry III, Michaelmas 1218 (Pipe Roll 62), Now First Printed from the Original in the Public Record Office.* (Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, volume 77. New Series—volume 39, for the year 1964.) London: the Society. 1972. Pp. xxiv, 145. By subscription.

This volume marks three major events in the history of the Pipe Roll Society: first, it begins the edition of the rolls of the reign of Henry III; second, it is the general editor's last volume; and third, it announces the death of Lady Stenton, who was the driving force in the society for thirty-five years. It was she who really revived the society after the First World War, and through all the years since then she played a major role as editor, general editor, and more recently as adviser and presiding genius. She had much aid and support, of course, especially from her husband, but her own learning and ability commanded the respect of all who knew her. At the time of her retirement the society published a *Festschrift*, but it is pleasant to report that the council has decided to produce a memorial volume for Lady Stenton, consisting of a memoir and an index of all the introductions to pipe and memorandum rolls in both the old and new series. Such a volume will be fitting as a memorial to one who wrote so many of those introductions and valuable as a guide to their running commentary on the political history of Angevin England.

The present volume is the last under the general editorship of Dr. Patricia M. Barnes of the Public Record Office. Dr. Barnes edited *Pipe Rolls 14* (1955) and *16 John* (1962) (the latter was her dissertation at Reading under Lady Stenton's direction), and Dr. Barnes was the coeditor of the volume of *Interdict Documents* (1960). As general editor she has been responsible for five volumes, including the *Miscellany* (1962) in honor of her mentor. The society and those who use its publications owe Dr. Barnes a very real debt of gratitude. With new responsibilities at the Record Office she has felt obliged to resign the editorship, and it has returned to Reading where Prof. J. C. Holt and Miss Barbara Dodwell are now the joint general editors. We can look forward with confidence to continuing excellence in the production of this fundamental record series, the

longest in European history, extending from 1130 to 1834. As records of the Exchequer, they are invaluable for political and constitutional history, and economic and social historians have also found them of great interest.

The old series of the society, begun in 1883, completed publication of the pipe rolls of Henry II. Under Lady Stenton and Dr. Barnes, those of Richard I and John have now been printed. The present volume contains the first roll of the reign of Henry III. The reign began in the civil war that followed John's refusal to abide by Magna Carta, and there was no Exchequer session until the second year of the reign. Thus the pipe roll of 2 Henry III is the first of the new reign. Two American scholars have previously published pipe rolls of Henry III's reign, Chalfont Robinson that of the fourteenth year and H. L. Cannon that of the twenty-sixth year. But the series properly commences now. Miss Ebden has acquitted herself well in the editing of this volume. As she remarks in her introduction, "the situation [in 1217–18] bristled with political and administrative difficulties," and this roll is a record both of those difficulties and of the success with which the regency of the young king dealt with them.

FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

University of Connecticut

K. B. MCFARLANE. *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xlii, 315. \$13.75.

Bruce McFarlane knew more about fifteenth-century England than anyone. He was a marvelous tutor and director of research, and he was a first-rate lecturer. Most of his pupils are turning out to be distinguished, and all of them could be described as his disciples. McFarlane was a perfectionist. It was partly because of this fact that his untimely death in 1966 came as such a shock to the historical profession, for he had said so much in lectures that never got into print. I recall chatting with him at a cocktail party in the late 1950s and asking when he would publish the Ford Lectures he had given in 1953. All I got as an answer was a wry smile and a terse "They are not ready yet." Not ready yet! I wonder when we

would have got them had he lived. He was always revising, modifying, and amplifying his interpretations, as the excellent historiographical introduction to this volume by J. P. Cooper demonstrates.

Now at last we have his Ford Lectures. This is the second of what will be at least three posthumous volumes published from McFarlane's papers by his pupils in what must be the most outstanding labor of love imaginable. In addition to the Ford Lectures, there are lectures on the following subjects, most of them dealing in detail with points he had made in the Ford Lectures: "Extinction and Recruitment," "The Wars of the Roses and the Financial Position of the Higher Nobility," "The Beauchamps and the Staffords," "Landlord versus Minister and Tenant," "The Education of the Nobility in Later Medieval England," "Had Edward I a 'Policy' towards the Earls?," "The English Nobility in the Later Middle Ages," and, as an annex, an early paper on "Crown and Parliament in the Later Middle Ages." This last the editors describe as "a *pièce d'occasion*, which its author would not have thought of printing." But it ought to be required reading for all historians of the early modern period; one pithy sentence, for example, is: "The only New Monarchy that England ever had came in with William the Conqueror" (p. 283).

The Ford Lectures deal with the English nobility, 1290-1535, and the topics covered are war; land; land and family; expenditure; and service, maintenance, and politics. There are important appendixes on the stratification of the nobility and gentry in the later Middle Ages, the Hungerford family and the Hundred Years' War, aspects of noble finances, and on the continuity of the great estates. Where McFarlane later modified or amplified his views, the editors refer the reader to the essays mentioned in the preceding paragraph, taken mostly from lectures given in 1965. Throughout the volume the editors have added footnotes to bring the bibliography up to date. The editorial work leaves nothing to be desired.

In a review of this length it is impossible even to summarize the points McFarlane makes. Perhaps it is enough to say that when we have all of his posthumous publications, the volume on the fifteenth century in the Oxford

History of England will have to be completely revised, along with virtually every textbook on medieval England now on the market.

G. P. CUTTINO

Emory University

JACQUES POUMARÈDE. *Les successions dans le sud-ouest de la France au Moyen Âge*. Preface by PAUL OURLIAC. (Publications de l'Université des Sciences sociales de Toulouse, Centre d'Histoire juridique. Série historique, number 1.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1972. Pp. 341. 44 fr.

History of law is supposed to be a dull, technical subject, but when it is written with understanding, it can be one of the most illuminating forms of social history. M. Poumarède has produced a study that shows what history of law can be at its best. His work ranks with that of the great master of the customary law of the North, Professor Jean Yver. Both men realize that the law of inheritance reveals, more clearly than any other source, primitive family structures changing under social, economic, intellectual, and political pressures. In southwestern France the process was particularly complicated. There was a strong desire to preserve old traditions—absolute equality among all heirs, or joint rights of the extended family over ancestral possessions, or (in the Pyrenees) absolute primogeniture with an elder daughter preferred over a younger son. But in the growing towns the bourgeoisie disliked seeing its capital split up among many heirs; the nobility also saw dangers in dividing their holdings: the Plantagenet king-dukes brought in elements of northern rules of feudal inheritance, and the growing influence of Roman law encouraged testators to favor one heir over others.

No ruler was strong enough to impose a solution to these contradictions, and no community was tough enough to make a clean break with its past. The result was a bewildering variety of local customs. Generally speaking, change was greatest in the fertile lower river valleys, in the towns, and in regions near Romanized Languedoc. In such places (for example, Bordeaux, Marmande, Agen) male primogeniture, dismissal of daughters with only their dowry, and disposition of property by testament made great headway. In the poorer re-

gions (the Landes, the Pyrenean valleys, the Basque country) older customs prevailed. The maps drawn by the author show these differences clearly.

One of the unexpected products of this admirable study is the light that it throws on the difficult problem of the origin of the Basques. The Basque region held stubbornly to the rule of absolute primogeniture; the eldest child, male or female, was the heir. This seems to be an archaic trait, linked with primitive religious beliefs. It also fits in well with linguistic and toponymic evidence, which suggests that the Basques descend from the original Stone Age population of the region. In law as in language they were, and remained, a people apart.

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GUY DE VALOUS. *Le patriciat lyonnais aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*. Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard. 1973. Pp. 490. 80 fr.

Renewed concern for local history has stimulated research on individual towns, and Valous's study of Lyon is welcome for its original approach and for the abundant data it contains. Works on Lyon abound, but Valous's focus is not on the city itself. Instead he concentrates on the families and individuals associated with its development. An attempt at the prosopography of a select urban elite, Valous's book will evoke the gratitude and envy of those lacking the access to local archives that are necessary for such an investigation.

As Valous's lengthy introduction shows, Lyon was politically anomalous, theoretically imperial but increasingly subject to the king of France, with municipal power disputed among archbishop, canons, and townsmen. Unusual in other respects, Lyon was late in receiving recognition of communal status and was dominated by a commercial oligarchy to the exclusion of popular and corporative influences. It is this commercial elite that Valous examines, and he carefully defines his subject as the rich and powerful families that dominated Lyon's political life, thus omitting both isolated mavericks and those wealthy lineages that avoided political involvement. After surveying Lyon's complex development, Valous analyzes the ways in

which for almost two centuries a few commercially active families rose, gained power, and exercised control, only to see their monopoly threatened by an influx of lawyers, notaries, and a new breed of businessmen in the early fifteenth century. The families' wealth, their residences, and their control over the neighboring countryside are considered, and Valous shows how the tendency toward disintegration of family fortunes associated with equal testamentary division was to some extent counteracted by marriage within a restricted circle and by limitation of the number of sons permitted to marry. Valous follows his families through the early 1400s, for him the beginning of a new period, as the old families disappeared or retired from active involvement in business as a new oligarchy emerged and royal control increased.

The major part of Valous's book consists of a series of family sketches—first, twenty-eight "great families," twelve rising during the fight for urban independence, six in the 1200s, and ten in the 1300s; second, fifty-five "secondary lineages," eleven stemming from the thirteenth and forty-four from the fourteenth centuries; third, seventeen "less well-known" patrician families. Interesting as the descriptions are, they vary considerably in scope and content, and the principles of division are confusing, since inclusion in the second and third categories can result simply from relative sparseness of evidence. Genealogical tables and maps would have clarified these sections as well as the introduction.

Valous could not have accomplished what he has without the work of such dedicated historians of Lyon as Jean Beyssac, Jean Déniau, René Fédou, Marguerite Gonon, Georges Guigue, and Vital de Valous. More comprehensive than their studies, his book provides a survey and summary of available information. Scholars will, in the future, use it to investigate, more broadly than he has, the evolution of society and social classes in medieval Lyon and, more narrowly, the formation, configurations, and interactions of social and political elites at different periods of Lyon's development.

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P. D. KING. *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Third Series, number 5.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1972. Pp. xiv, 318. \$21.00.

Visigothic Spanish civilization, flourishing for over two centuries among Europe's Barbarian realms until Islam swallowed it in 711, must be pieced together today largely from its literature and its laws. Though a generation of scholars has drawn upon the great legal collections to clarify Visigothic mentality and institutions, King concentrates on the last of the civil series, Ervig's systematic revision in 12 books and 559 laws just thirty years (681) before the sudden end, to probe the mature society at a single point in time. Not a legal study but a distillation of the ideals or norms proposed by the Visigothic elite and presumably reflecting society, this survey of institutions incorporates its insights within a framework of the standard categories. Eight equal chapters discuss the strong monarchy; governmental functionaries and processes; justice; the now-unified religion; social stratification (especially slavery); economy (including crops, stock, and town life); and family (women, abortion, dowry, children's rights, structure), with appendixes on theft and bodily hurt.

Aware of the perils and limitations in depicting reality from laws, King applies his wide and varied reading to the interpretive reconstruction, footnoting generously and engaging in debate. He sensibly insists on the king as within the Church in Visigothic ecclesiology, neither a "secular" manipulator nor a puppet. Originality in detail does leave room for disagreement. Thus rejection of a patrimonial kingdom seems a *lis de verbis* in practice, except as a legal distinction affecting inheritance; and rejection both of monarchic accountability and its parallelism with pactic monasticism is more plausible in a legal than in a psychosocial framework. King views Visigothic anti-Semitism (of the mere thirty-four laws Ervig personally initiated, twenty-eight concerned Jews) as a consciously pious ideal for reinforcing Visigothic-Roman union; Bernard S. Bachrach's counterinterpretation unfortunately appeared after publication ("A Reassessment of Visigothic Jewish Policy, 589-711," *AHR*, 78 [1973]: 11-34). Roman foundations recur, but in Ger-

manic development; thus family structure moves away from both German kinship and Roman paterfamilias models. The abrupt ending disappoints, but the twenty-page bibliography is so complete that to suggest minor additions would be ungracious. Dietrich Claude's *Adel, Kirche, und Königtum in Westgotenreich* (1971) appeared too late for inclusion.

Law and Society is first-rate scholarship. Valuable for incidental detail, instructive as an overview of Visigothic society on the vigil of its fall, and interesting for its uni-code methodology, it can claim a prominent place in the growing shelf of English studies about that vanished civilization.

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A. J. FOREY. *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*. (University of Durham Publications.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 498. \$30.00.

Within the current renewal of interest in the social and economic as well as the political and religious importance of the military orders of medieval and early modern Spain—a movement with which the names of Santos García Larragueta, Joseph O'Callaghan, Derek Lomax, Maur Cocheril, L. P. Wright, and others can be linked—this meticulously documented volume treats with impressive thoroughness the hitherto poorly known part played by the Templars, from 1130 to their dissolution in 1317, in Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and Majorca. Since major native corporations of this type did not develop in the Crown of Aragon as they did in Castile, Leon, and Portugal, the international orders of the Temple and the Hospital attained exceptional prominence in the wars of the Aragonese reconquest, the settlement of newly annexed frontier lands, and the acquisition of a network of landed domains and lordships that at times approached a veritable *regnum in regno*. Drawing chiefly upon the rich archival materials in Madrid and Barcelona, A. J. Forey's book tackles squarely, and, as far as the texts permit, successfully, all the crucial questions: the advent of the Templars in Aragon and Catalonia; their long participation in the anti-Moorish struggle; the geography of their

widely dispersed convents, castles, towns, lordships, and estates; the economic techniques employed in exploiting their extensive domains; the numerous royal and papal privileges that resulted in subsequent conflict with the growing monarchy and often hostile episcopate; relations with the international headquarters in the eastern Mediterranean; financial activities; and, finally, unmerited involvement in the abolition of the order at the hands of Philip IV of France and Pope Clement V. From the many lesser topics explored, a few may be singled out for special mention. These include the implications for the Aragonese Templars of their having been made one of King Alfonso the Warrior's three legates; their non-noble "serjeant" members; the recruitment methods attracting frontier colonists; the numerous domestic and praedial slaves, alongside the fully tolerated Moorish peasantry; and the manifestations of internal decline visible well before the end came. Of the book's five hundred pages, nearly a half are given over to valuable notes and appendixes: the latter include forty-six unpublished texts and lists of provincial masters, convents, and conventual commanders. Three maps (unfortunately without legend except in the table of contents) are also provided. In short, Forey's study exemplifies the kind of detailed research needed for each of the Iberian military orders before we can accurately assess their considerable role in medieval and modern Spanish history.

C. J. BISHKO
University of Virginia

ROLF KIESSLING. *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Kirche in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse der oberdeutschen Reichsstadt.* (Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg; Schriftenreihe des Stadtarchives Augsburg, number 19.) Augsburg: Verlag H. Muhlberger. 1971. Pp. 397. DM 66.

This solid work examines exhaustively the interrelations of Church and civil society in the episcopal and imperial city of Augsburg from roughly 1300 to 1500. The author has clearly spent untold hours in the archives of Munich and Augsburg. Instead of presenting a simple account of Church and state conceived as monolithic entities, Kiessling discusses the development of a much more complicated situation.

Instead of "Church," he examines in detail the episcopal administration and cathedral chapter and the various chapters of canons and of noblewomen, as well as the institutions run by the Augustinians, Dominicans, Carmelites, Franciscans, and Benedictines. Instead of "state," Kiessling is concerned with all of the sectors of secular society, or at least those wealthy enough to contribute to the Church. As Augsburg broke free from her bishop in the thirteenth century, the town began a systematic attempt to take control of its own ecclesiastical institutions, building on traditional rights to guardianship over Church finances. Kiessling carefully describes the ways in which the town gained influence over the parish priests, monasteries, hospitals, schools, care for the poor, church reform, and the hiring of special preachers. The successes of the town, however, did not spell universal victory. The bishops retained control of much of the countryside around Augsburg and thus denied to Augsburg the territorial power of towns like Ulm, Rothenburg, or Nuremberg. The town failed also in its attempt to prevent the growing exclusiveness of the cathedral chapter, an exclusiveness that ultimately refused membership to mere citizens of Augsburg. Despite Kiessling's scrupulous attention to detail in such matters, these lengthy sections of his work do little to alter our basic understanding of the Church in the free imperial cities.

Kiessling shows genuine creativity in the sections in which he analyzes the way townsmen supported their ecclesiastical institutions. He demonstrates that members of the patriciate, especially in the fourteenth century, supported the cathedral chapter and the chapter of St. Moritz. In the fifteenth century, however, their support went instead to the Benedictine monastery St. Ulrich und Afra and to the mendicant orders. In addition the new prosperity of fifteenth-century Augsburg permitted many members of the middle classes to contribute to the Church, and these citizens chose also to support the mendicants. "One could perhaps say that the invasion of the mendicants in the ecclesiastical sphere corresponded to the invasion of the bourgeoisie in the social sphere: both tended to split the old hierarchical structure of estates since both thought and acted in new and different categories" (p. 285). The mendi-

cants drew closer to the affairs of the town as the bishop retreated. Within this development, it appears that the lesser and middle bourgeoisie supported primarily the Franciscans while the extremely wealthy capitalists supported the Dominicans and Carmelites. To prove this point, Kiessling analyzes the contributions of 107 families of the upper bourgeoisie. In this part of his study Kiessling succeeds in breaking from the tedious and well-worn path of Church-state politics and establishes new questions and new methods for the sociology of late medieval religion.

H. C. ERIK MIDELFORT
University of Virginia

JOSHUA PRAWER. *The World of the Crusaders*. New York: Quadrangle Books. 1972. Pp. 160. \$8.95.

Increasingly successful techniques in book illustration, photographs, colored manuscript reproductions, and so on have made possible the kind of book that Professor Joshua Prawer of the University of Jerusalem has presented here. Interspersed throughout a brief text of some 152 pages are 72 pages of pictures (7 of them full-page color reproductions) and three maps. The illustrations are taken from contemporary or nearly contemporary sources, discriminately chosen and beautifully rendered. The author's purpose is "to relate the story of the Crusades and to make the society created and sustained by them accessible to the wider reading public." There is, therefore, neither bibliography nor notes. Professor Prawer has succeeded admirably in his task. Moreover, he has the added advantage of living near and being able to visit the places of which he writes.

The actual narrative of the Crusades is brief and skillfully related to European developments. The most important aspect of the book, however, is the description of the society formed by the Westerners in the Levant. This is, of course, Professor Prawer's specialty, and it is the aspect of Crusade history that most often escapes the attention of the general reader. He will find here an explanation of the complex native population, Christian, Muslim, and Jewish. He will discover that among the Westerners who settled permanently—principally French, the *Poulains*—the nobles resided not

in castles or rural manor houses, as in Europe, but in the towns; that there was a bourgeois immigration, even an increase in the Jewish population; and that there were exceptional, and in many ways separate, Italian colonies in the ports. There is a description of the mode of life of the *Poulains*, their dress, their legal institutions, their religion, their persistent Frenchness, as well as the castles they garrisoned and the military methods they developed. Considerable attention is given to the role of the military orders, a necessary role from the military viewpoint, but not without genuine religious motivation—at least in origin, and continuing, especially in the case of the Hospitallers. Finally, there is a chapter on "The Adventure of Commerce and the Expanding Universe" resulting from the new Italian and Provençal bases in the Levant and extending eastward into Asia.

Although the facts are presented, I might have preferred a somewhat greater emphasis on the distinction between the so-called First Kingdom, before the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, where, despite evidences of disunity, a remarkably coherent, tolerant, and flexible society developed, and the thirteenth-century states, with their increasing divisiveness and constant reactions to Europe's own divisions. For the general reader still tends to view the Crusades as a single unit of history. But doubtless considerations of space prevented more detailed explanation. Moreover, it must be repeated, the material is here, and the discriminating reader will see the point and profit enormously from this beautifully illustrated, remarkably revealing description of the society of the Latin Levant.

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HANS EBERHARD MAYER. *The Crusades*. Translated by JOHN GILLINGHAM. New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 339. Cloth \$10.25, paper \$2.95.

T. S. R. BOASE. *Kingdoms and Strongholds of the Crusaders*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1971. Pp. 272. \$15.00.

The purpose of both of these studies is to present to the English reading world in brief and general form the most recent scholarship on the Crusades. They fall, therefore, between Sir

Steven Runciman's three-volume *A History of the Crusades*, the multivolume *History of the Crusades*, edited by Kenneth Setton, still in progress, and the voluminous article literature of the last two decades. Inasmuch as there has not been available for some time in a single volume the detailed research of Crusade historians, these books, to use a much abused phrase, "fill a gap." That a need for such works existed can be seen in the almost simultaneous appearance of another such study, *The World of the Crusaders*, by Joshua Prawer of Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

The difficulty of covering all facets of the Crusades in a single volume is easily seen when these two volumes are read together. The approach, emphasis, and interpretation of each author is sufficiently different to produce works that are more complementary than competitive. Academics will prefer Mayer, general readers Boase, librarians will have to buy both, and anyone who wishes to study the Crusades in depth will still have to consult Runciman and Setton.

Professor Mayer's work should be welcomed by teachers who have been in need of an up to date, interestingly written, yet scholarly treatment of the Crusades in paperback. It merits consideration as required or recommended reading by presenting a straightforward descriptive account of the major events from Clermont to the fall of Acre. Thus, the beginning student will find the chronology and "essential facts" of the Crusade movement in convenient form. In addition, Mayer's chapters on "The Origins of the Crusades" and "The Aftermath: Consequences and Perspectives" raise important historiographical questions and introduce new interpretations that warrant the attention of those interested in the Crusades at a more advanced level. This is particularly true of his thesis concerning the role of indulgences in launching and maintaining the Crusades. Simply put, Mayer sees the use of the indulgence as crucial to the success of Urban II's summons to the First Crusade and a significant element in the recruitment for all subsequent ones. In his view the indulgence given by the pope at Clermont was one thing, the popular understanding of it quite another. Hence the Christian believer thought—and was encouraged to think by Crusade preachers and prop-

agandists—that he was getting a "spiritual bargain" and so responded in great numbers. Professor Mayer's treatment of this aspect of the Crusades is a healthy antidote to the overemphasis upon economic factors in so many other studies. In summary, one can say of this book that it is not often that a single-volume work on the Crusades can offer such a balance of judgment and blend of scholarship that it will be of value to all from freshman to professor.

Professor Boase's book is much better suited to the general reader than to the academic community. It is wider in scope, treating the Crusades through the fourteenth century, but narrower in its approach, which is primarily political and military. There is a heavy emphasis upon illustrations, almost 200 in a 250-page book, with a high percentage of this number devoted to Crusader fortifications and churches. In several instances the old adage "one picture is worth a thousand words" does not apply, and, on the whole, I believe that fewer pictures and more words would have advanced the reader's understanding. On the other hand, many of the photographs are quite valuable, adding materially to the text and giving the reader a dramatic visual representation of the many currents of history underlying the Crusades. Thus, my complaint is not with the use of illustrations but with their too frequent and sometimes inappropriate use. Indeed, Professor Mayer's book might well have used a few of the pictures offered by Professor Boase.

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Dumbarton Oaks Papers. Number 26. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University; distrib. by J. J. Augustin, Publisher, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1972. Pp. xiv, 365. \$20.00.

This weighty volume includes three papers from the Dumbarton Oaks 1970 symposium on Byzantium and Sasanian Iran, but my comments will be confined to the art-historical contributions. The contents are of primary interest to Byzantinists, but of broader historical significance are the studies of H. E. Mayer on Queen Melisende and N. Oikonomides on tenth-century business establishments in Constantinople.

C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins publish, with exemplary clarity, the Church father mosaics in the north tympanum of St. Sophia at Istanbul, dating the set to the period 880–900. They find that these particular mosaics were made to honor those for whom annual commemorative services were held in this church; this principle at least accounts for eight of the thirteen known figures, though their order along the wall is not in chronological order of their synaxis. For the four remaining “special cases,” a particular late ninth-century context is adduced. The publication of these mosaics takes us a stage nearer an appreciation of the extent and organization of the posticonoclastic decoration, when a ninth-century plan had to be imposed onto a sixth-century architectural frame unsuitable for connected figural cycles. The main theologian involved seems to have been the Patriarch Photius, whose use of art is possibly also to be seen in the choice of scenes illustrated in the manuscript of the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus, the Paris gr. 510, datable between 879 and 882, and in the ninth-century group of marginal psalters. The Paris gr. 510 supplies the closest datable stylistic parallels for the mosaics, although the treatment of drapery is simpler in the mosaics. This difference cannot be entirely explained by the difference of medium and monumental position, for the drapery style of the narthex panel above the imperial door is as florid as the manuscript. My reaction to these differences of style is to favor a chronological sequence of work in the church in which the narthex panel is set in the early 880s, followed by the fathers in the tympanum (and any lost coeval work in this area), and, soon after the fathers, the vestibule panel above the southwest door; the faces in the latter mosaic are modeled in the same way as the fathers and are enlivened by means of the same technical device, a prominent irregular-shaped tessera at the tip of the nose. This feature occurs in two other ninth-century mosaics, in the Koimesis Church at Nicaea and in the cupola of St. Sophia at Thessaloniki (885). Mango and Hawkins, however, caution against datings deduced from any linear model of stylistic evolution, because they believe the dissimilar mosaics in the apse (ca. 867) and in the patriarchal reserve in the room

over the southwest vestibule to be roughly contemporary.

A linear model of stylistic evolution is assumed by K. Weitzmann in his essay on the fifteen ivory plaques once supposed to be component parts of a chair of St. Mark donated to Grado Cathedral by the Emperor Heraclius. His starting point is that “the ivories fall halfway between the Codex Sinopensis on the one hand and the *Sacra Parallela* on the other, being considerably further removed from the classical tradition than the former, but not yet as ornamentalized and abstract as the latter” (p. 56). He concludes that the ivories decorated several different objects and were carved at intervals between about 700 and 750, either in Syria or by Syrian workers. In view of the methods employed, and of his attributions of date and provenance to the comparative material, Weitzmann’s results need careful criticism.

The same problem of method engages I. Andreescu on Torcello. She canvasses using certain elements as stylistic constants for dating purposes, such as the linear treatment of faces (p. 187 n. 12). But the difficulty with “laws” of style development is how to chart the rate of change in style at times when there are no dated works or when there is no frame of reference between individual works. Andreescu’s points of comparison for the twelfth-century phase of mosaics at Torcello are St. Michael at Kiev (1111–12), the Comnenian panel at St. Sophia at Istanbul (1118), and the frescoes at Neresi (1164) and Monreale (1180s). Her dating of the Torcello work to about 1185, and of comparable mosaics in St. Marco in Venice to soon after Torcello, remains speculative because the extent of restorations and lack of medieval documentation makes even the relative dating of Venetian mosaics seem intractable. Information is given on the nineteenth-century restorations at Torcello, and some fragments in the museum are attributed to a composition of a young Christ between angels visible in the triangular gable above the apse in 1827.

The legitimacy, but limitations, of style analysis are underlined by two studies of the same manuscript in Moscow, the illustrated *Acatistos* (Synod. gr. 429). The stylistic approach (V. D. Lixačeva) succeeds in characterizing the miniatures and dating them in the second half of the fourteenth century. The codicological

approach (G. M. Proxorov) brilliantly unravels scribe, client, milieu, and date. The quality of the painting is not as high as would be expected from a major Hesychast monastery working for John Kantakouzenos between 1355 and 1364; presumably artists of the talents of Theophanes the Greek left Constantinople for more prosperous communities.

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CHARALAMPOUS P. SYMEONIDĒS. *Hoi Tsakōnes kai hē Tsakōnia: Symbolē stēn hermēneia tōn onomatōn kai tou homōnymou Byzantinou themou tōn kastrophylakōn* [The Tsacones and Tsaconia: A Contribution to the Meaning of the Terms and of the Byzantine Institution of the Fortress-Garrison of the Same Name]. (Byzantine Texts and Studies, 5.) Thessaloniki: Center for Byzantine Studies; distrib. by Library Grigoris, Athens. 1972. Pp. 187.

The toponym *Tsaconia* appeared at least in the source of an extant document as early as the ninth century; the ethnic *Tsecones* or its variant *Tsacones*, somewhat later. Both terms attracted the attentions of scholars, and a number of studies have been devoted to their etymology, because their appearance is associated with the invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Slavs. Some scholars have given the terms a Slavic origin; most have considered them Greek, but have differed in their explanation of their etymology. A number among the latter have associated the term in some way or another with Laconia.

The etymology of these two terms and the ethnic implications of this etymology are the subject of Symeonides's book. The book is divided in two parts. In the first part the author discusses the etymologies offered by other scholars; in the second, he offers his own and draws the ethnic implications that follow. The point of departure of his etymology is a reference to the rugged regions of ancient Cynuria, called there *tsaconiae*. The Greek for rugged is *trachinos* or *trachanos*, forms of *trachys*, but in late Greek, Symeonides urges, the *tr* often turns into *ts* and the Greek form of *ch* into *k* (*c*), hence *Tsaconia* and the learned ethnic *Tsacon*, plural *Tzacones*. And so it was that the rugged region of Cynuria, where Laconians had fled

following the invasion of Laconia by the Slavs, in time came to be known as Tsaconia and its inhabitants as Tsacones. But the latter term came also to be used for mountaineers manning fortresses located on rugged ground. These garrison troops may have been originally recruited in Tsaconia, but the impression that the author tries to give that all such troops were of Greek origins does not necessarily follow.

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MODERN EUROPE

STEVEN E. OZMENT. *Mysticism and Dissent: Religious Ideology and Social Protest in the Sixteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 270. \$10.00.

Although the flood of monographs on the magisterial reformers continues unabated, more scholarly attention has been given in recent years to lesser figures and to more obscure groups in the movement. This volume focuses upon several mystical dissenters given to what the Wittenberger reformers regarded as *Schwermerey und Enthusiasterei*. Thomas Münzer appears not as the three-penny revolutionary of the Marxists but as a tormented soul whose theology of the heart transmorphized into a truly radical ideology. Hans Hut was engaged in a ceaseless search for a gospel behind the gospel. Hans Denk, in weary despair of "ceremonies and elements," relativized the historical forms of the Lutherans by appealing to something more primordial and universal, a Word behind their preached word, a Bread and Baptism behind their physical bread and baptism. Sebastian Franck wrote history as an exposé of societal stupidity and lifeless ecclesiastical forms. Castellio praised common sense judgment against the contrived rationalism of the Genevan. Valentin Weigel conformed outwardly in his Lutheran ministry even while criticizing contemporary Christendom in the light of his vision of the New Jerusalem. These six characters, who have found their author, had new things to say and said them "memorably and with a vengeance."

This volume is a very natural extension into the Reformation period of the author's earlier

excellent monograph *Homo Spiritualis* (1969), a study of the anthropology of Johannes Tauler, Jean Gerson, and Luther. In that work he demonstrated how Luther could mean radically different things while using some of the same terminology as his predecessors. In this work Ozment describes the colorful variety of highly individualistic faiths that germinated in the soil freshly overturned by Luther's plow. This study begins with an analysis of the importance of the *Theologia Deutsch*, a mystical writing that Luther edited in 1516 and again in 1518, with its key notion of *Gelassenheit*. The author's most important contribution to our understanding of this group of dissenters is his insistence upon analyzing their thought in the medieval perspective and in its Reformation context, thus avoiding the common pitfall of overmodernizing them because of their individualism and nonconformity. Even Castellio embraced scholastic categories such as *fides inhaerens* and *fides caritate formata* as accurate descriptions. By directing attention to mysticism, the author may well stimulate further studies of a subject relatively neglected in recent decades. Moreover, he directs the right critical questions to these dissidents who laid bare the penultimate character of secular and divine institutions. Could their dissent foster that patience with the humdrum which is necessary to maintain a viable though imperfect society? Could it do more than "spawn lonely individuals and artificially constructed ideal communities encamped on the fringes of the real world"? In their dissent, he concludes, the seeds of social disintegration are as prominent as those of individual liberation.

It seems gratuitous to fault a book as excellent as this. One wishes only that it were longer, rather than shorter, that it included a more precise definition and systematic discussion of mysticism as such, that it offered a full treatment of Kaspar Schwenkfeld and more than passing reference to Andreas Karlstadt, that it looked ahead to Jakob Böhme and Johannes Arndt, that it developed the "other side" of debates such as Castellio's; in short, that it were cut on a larger pattern. There can be no doubt about the author's scholarly authority, however, and he often penetrates more deeply in a few pages than many a large monograph on the same person's thought. Like Val-

entin Weigel himself, Ozment has a "golden grasp" of the subject.

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N. M. SUTHERLAND. *The Massacre of St Bartholomew and the European Conflict, 1559-1572*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1973. Pp. 373. \$17.50.

The title of Miss Sutherland's eagerly anticipated study reflects its main substance—the European conflict—while indicating its significance for historians of Europe in general. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew is shown to be the result, virtually inevitable, of many disparate policies, interacting in an extraordinarily complicated way for a dozen years. Students of Queen Elizabeth's foreign policy and of the Netherlands will find as much important grist for their mill as will historians of France. The mention of the Netherlands in the titles of one-third of the chapters indicates the depth and extent of the author's commitment to their central position in the concerns of all the conflicting parties. Sutherland's mastery of the sources and her closely reasoned arguments merit reviews by specialists in the other countries as well, but limitations of space and the reviewer's competence will confine this one to the situation at the French court.

The evolution of each principal's policy is traced in minute detail, together with analysis of motives and the precise ways in which events affected, and effected, shifts in policy. Since the method is necessarily chronological, and all the balls must be kept in the air at once, the reader is advised to use the full, clearly organized index whenever he wishes to grasp the overall shape of a particular point. Catherine de' Medici's dominant priorities—peace, compromise, and the independence of the French Crown, for instance—are to be found in more than twenty entries, ranging from page 22 to page 202.

The interpretation of the queen mother, with abundant documentation that should—finally—lay to rest the old stereotype of "the wicked Italian queen," is perhaps the most important single contribution of the book. The full statement will be no surprise to those familiar with Sutherland's earlier works, but here

the weight of evidence is overwhelming. If the standard Protestant view of Catherine is repudiated, the same cannot be said of the cardinal of Lorraine. In fact, frequent references to his "machinations," "treasonable negotiations" with foreign Catholic powers, and consistent advocacy of the policy of "elimination" of Huguenot leaders revive the "Tiger" of Huguenot contemporaries at the expense of the urbane, quasi-ecumenical cardinal of recent scholarship. The cardinal is the foil to Sutherland's Catherine: "While Catherine strove for peace, the Cardinal strove for war" (p. 62), and what is usually described as the "Third War of Religion" (September 1568–August 1570) is called "Lorraine's War" (the title of chapter 5).

The treatment of Admiral Coligny, on the other hand, revises the interpretation of all previous historians, whatever their leanings, on two distinct but related matters: the precise relationship of Coligny to the "Netherlands enterprise" and his influence over Charles IX. For four hundred years it has been assumed that Coligny was the heart and brain of the Netherlands policy, but Miss Sutherland claims that this has been oversimplified and distorted, that younger Huguenot captains like Teligny and Netherlands refugee-exiles were responsible, while Coligny was "passive, at best informed, at worst importuned. It is clear that he neither approved of nor consented to the form the enterprise was taking" (p. 152). This was in the spring of 1571; by the summer of 1572 changes in the *conjoncture*, both international and French, had placed the admiral in a position where he was "fully determined to go to the Netherlands" (p. 306). This revision is, therefore, primarily a matter of timing. The second one turns on Sutherland's insistence that Coligny could not have had the influence over Charles IX that has always been alleged because of the small amount of time he spent at court (p. 316), but on her own evidence, knowledgeable contemporaries like the papal envoy Salviati (p. 332) and the Venetian ambassadors (p. 336) believed in the admiral's predominant influence. Their impressions have prevailed with historians ever since.

The question of whether the massacre was premeditated was debated for generations, until our own time, when the consensus has been that it was not. Miss Sutherland bears this out

so far as the specific event is concerned, but she reinforces the older "conspiracy" view if it is broadened to denote the policy of elimination, which leaders of the extreme Catholic party had embraced as early as 1560 (see "elimination policy" in the index).

Every student of this particular European conflict will need and profit from this important book, and the inevitable disagreement among specialists on particulars should further enrich the field. Unfortunately the "packaging"—paper, print, and illustrations—falls far short of the "product" in quality.

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EDUARD BENE, editor. *Les Lumières en Hongrie, en Europe centrale et en Europe orientale: Actes du colloque de Mátrafüred, 3–5 novembre 1970*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1971. Pp. 125.

This book provides a transcript of a 1970 international colloquium on the Enlightenment organized by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Most of the participants were Hungarian, but Romania, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Belgium, and France were also represented. No Polish or Soviet scholars attended. Six papers addressed themselves to Hungarian subjects (society, Josephinism, historiography, language, lexicon, decorative arts), one was devoted to Slovakia ("fundamental traits"), and the remaining four discussed comparative topics (national consciousness, history of ideas, literary currents, summary-synthesis). All papers and discussions were in French, except for one in German.

Historians of Western Europe may find the emphasis on national issues surprising. The national awakening of Eastern Europe was firmly placed in the late eighteenth century (instead of the traditional nineteenth century), and Enlightenment culture was portrayed primarily as an instrument for the revival of national awareness. National languages developed through conscious linguistic change, their use in original political and fictional literature, and the translation of Western European ideas. These developments should not be seen as pre-Romantic. Classicism remained dominant, although some other literary and architectural

styles coexisted with it. After hearing these papers, a "Western" participant concluded that the East-Central European Enlightenment was national and patriotic in orientation, while in France, humanitarianism was most important. Marxist categories did not enter into the discussion to any major extent.

While the argumentation correctly restores the subjugated nations of the eastern part of Europe to the eighteenth-century cultural map, a word of caution is in order. The national view of the Enlightenment presented at this colloquium tends to underemphasize the cosmopolitanism of the age. By implication, the role of the great lords, the Church, and the imperial bureaucracy in the spread of Enlightenment culture is denigrated.

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JOHN MAGUIRE. *Marx's Paris Writings: An Analysis*. With an introduction by DAVID MCLELLAN. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1973. Pp. xxiv, 170. \$9.00.

David McLellan's introduction to Maguire's work states that it is the "first full-length study of Marx's Paris writings to appear in English . . . which sets the Paris writings in context and clearly explicates Marx's concepts." That statement appears exaggerated when applied to a text of only 168 pages.

Marx's Paris Writings, nevertheless, has great merits. It displays a degree of clarity unusual in the field of Marxian studies. This is evident especially in Maguire's analysis of Marx's objections to Hegel and of the role played by political economy in Marxian thought during this period. The critical comments on the views of other Marxian writers on the subject of the "young Marx" are excellent. The account places the *Writings* in a proper "context" through a survey of the position from which Marx started on the eve of the Paris period. It also carries the story beyond 1845, partly to demonstrate a "continuity" between the "young," more philosophical Marx and the mature individual.

I, however, experienced a letdown. Maguire repeatedly speaks of Marx's search for a "correct critical stance," or "for a theory which issues in and informs an effective practice, is con-

nected with his notion of praxis." Yet he fails to mention much that Marx says on the role and nature of criticism, as well as certain requirements of successful revolutionary action that appear in "A Contribution to the Hegelian Philosophy of Law: An Introduction," perhaps the most outspoken thing Marx ever wrote. There, among other things, Marx states that criticism was not an "anatomical knife" but a "weapon" whose purpose was to destroy. Criticism was a "means; its essential pathos is indignation; its essential task is denunciation." Maguire might have inquired how Marxian criticism, then and in the years to follow (in the way of "continuity"), was colored and determined by such considerations, both as to content as well as to the emotional tone (such as "moral outrage"). The matter of method and tactics enters the picture.

The question might even have been raised whether the 1844 stress on "alienation" was not a reflection of the above criteria for criticism. Perhaps the alienation theme appeared then merely as the best "means" whereby the existing capitalist system could be most effectively denounced. Feuerbach, after all, had just had sensational results in defining religion as a form of human alienation—a fact that Marx specifically noted. No "full-length study" should ignore what Marx said then about the nature and purpose of criticism, though the omission is a common one.

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B. S. MARKESINIS. *The Theory and Practice of Dissolution of Parliament: A Comparative Study with Special Reference to the United Kingdom and Greek Experience*. Foreword by C. J. HAMMON. (Cambridge Studies in International and Comparative Law, 9.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1972. Pp. xvi, 283. \$19.50.

This is an ambitious book that seeks to bring history, political science, and constitutional law to bear in a comparative study of the dissolution of parliament in the United Kingdom and Greece. It is divided into four distinct parts: general theory of dissolution; dissolution in the United Kingdom; dissolution in Greece; and "transformation of the institution (conclusions)." The first three stand as self-contained

studies. The fourth section unfortunately fails to integrate the previous three satisfactorily in its short nine pages.

The merit of such an effort must be judged not merely on its organization but on an examination of its implicit assumption that a fruitful comparison of British and Greek political processes is relevant. The comparison has intellectual roots in Greece stemming from the importation, in the nineteenth century, of Western political institutions to the newly established Greek state. This imposition was carried out under the assumption that a successful adoption of the parliamentary system was the surest path to Greece's rejoining Europe and the civilized world, from which, it was held, the Greeks during centuries of "despotic" Turkish rule had been estranged. A number of native and non-Greek scholars continue to this day to measure the success or failure of the Greek political system by holding it up against Western models, particularly the British; the works of the late Panayotis Pipinelis are a good example of this orientation, which has led generations of Greek writers to neglect and sometimes ignore the Ottoman experience—a legacy central to understanding the political development of the Balkan peoples. A more appropriate comparison, such as has been done by S. P. Huntington and other political scientists, would seek to place Greece among the so-called transitional polities. Despite some external similarities with Western political systems, Greece has more in common with the Philippines and various Latin American republics.

Of significant concern is the author's summary of modern Greek history, especially that covering the last fifty years. His analysis of the events surrounding the several constitutional crises and attendant parliamentary dissolutions is based on an uneven selection of sources and reflects the conservative biases of the works he most heavily relies on. In dealing with the sensitive 1941–49 period, the studies of W. H. MacNeil, L. S. Stavrianos, N. Svoronos, and more recently J. O. Iatrides should be read in conjunction with G. D. Kousoulas. It is particularly puzzling that the author overlooked the important and now standard works of N. Kaltchas on Greek constitutional history and J. A. Petropoulos on the early political history of modern Greece.

Students of political theory and constitutional law will find that Markesinis's "continental" or theoretical discussion of dissolution is a careful and painstaking analysis that could, and perhaps should, have stood on its own.

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JON JACOBSON. *Locarno Diplomacy: Germany and the West, 1925–1929*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 420. \$13.00.

Professor Jacobson's book, awarded the 1972–73 Beer Prize, is an admirable addition to the monographic material on interwar diplomacy. The author's concern is to "explore the personalities, the politics, and the diplomacy of the Locarno Era and offer a historical interpretation and synthesis of it." Presumably denied access to French Foreign Ministry materials, nevertheless, he has achieved his aims by exhaustive research in unpublished German and British Foreign Office documents and private papers, and in the best secondary works available.

This volume is written for the professional historian and assumes a sound knowledge of the subject. It begins with an examination of the development of the Locarno Pacts, proceeds with a consideration in great detail of subsequent negotiations between Germany, France, and Britain on the major problems of Rhineland evacuation, security, and reparations, and ends with an elucidation of the diplomacy culminating in the Young Plan.

The author's contentions are that the Locarno era reflected much less cooperation and conciliation than are usually attributed to it; that there were distrust and conflict among the leading foreign ministers—Gustav Stresemann, Aristide Briand, and Sir Austen Chamberlain; that these men, though holding each other in high esteem and wanting to resolve matters as European statesmen in the broadest sense, reverted to prewar patterns and championed parochial sovereign interests.

Jacobson shows that the Locarno Pacts were not intended solely to ease general European tensions, and in this respect the images of the

three foreign ministers emerge rather tarnished. Stresemann used Locarno as a gambit to end Allied occupation of German soil, to obtain a compromise on German disarmament, and, it was hoped, to win a general renegotiation of Versailles. Briand believed Locarno insured peace, but peace for him meant Britain's guaranteeing French security and Germany's accepting French leadership of Europe and the status quo. Chamberlain proved distrustful of Stresemann's overtures but agreed to underwrite the Rhineland Pact because no dangerous involvement seemed inherent. Consistently distrustful of Germany and consistently Francophile, Chamberlain forfeited his opportunity to serve as "honest broker" between the two Continental protagonists.

Subsequent negotiations at Thoiry in 1926 and at numerous Geneva meetings in 1927 and 1928 met with little success in solving the issues of evacuation, reparations, German disarmament, and French security. Indeed, by the winter of 1927-28, the Locarno spirit had already broken down. Stresemann and Briand carried on a hostile debate from behind their own borders. The First Hague Conference of 1929 settled the major problems of evacuation and reparations, but the acrimonious nature of the negotiations made it clear that the Locarno era was at an end. Stresemann accepted the Young Plan to avoid financial and political crisis at home. France agreed, unwillingly, to evacuation. It was forced to do so by a new British Labour government, whose representatives broke the Anglo-French entente by demanding additional reparations and announcing a unilateral withdrawal from the Rhineland.

The failures of the "Locarnites" rested with themselves, for all were hardened politicians who effectively handled domestic political opposition and either agreed with or manipulated public opinion. They therefore approached foreign policy decisions with considerable independence.

I am not entirely convinced that the Locarno era was quite as sterile as Professor Jacobson suggests, for there is no painstaking examination of "Locarnite" response to disarmament as a general European movement nor of the Kellogg-Briand Pact itself. Nevertheless, one must conclude that the book is a first-rate piece of scholarship containing fresh and interesting in-

terpretations. Unfortunately it is marred by an irritating number of printer's errors.

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MARIAN WOJCIECHOWSKI. *Die polnisch-deutschen Beziehungen, 1933-1938*. (Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas, 12.) Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1971. Pp. viii, 583. 175 gls.

German-Polish relations between the two world wars have long been the subject of sharp debate among historians. Marian Wojciechowski's competent and carefully researched work, based on Polish and German sources, adds still another chapter to this debate. He takes issue with A. J. P. Taylor's opinion that Hitler was a lazy drifter who took advantage of opportunities as they turned up and that the Nonaggression Pact of 1934 was a revolutionary change because it jettisoned Germany's traditionally hostile policy toward Poland. He maintains that Hitler had his aims clearly set, with the subjugation of Poland being a step toward the conquest of Lebensraum in the East. Hitler feared 1934-35 as the critical point in his rearmament program, and since he felt vulnerable in the West he needed Poland in the East. But he never considered sharing his future empire in the East with a partner and cast Poland in the role of a satellite of the Reich. Thus, Wojciechowski's interpretation of German-Polish relations is similar to Gerhard Weinberg's position in *Foreign Policy of Hitler's Germany* (1970).

After World War I, Józef Piłsudski tried to find a new basis for the existence of the Polish state, but his scheme for a federation of eastern borderlands collapsed; France moved toward a revision of Germany's eastern frontier. The rise of Hitler had seemed to Piłsudski to present an opportunity for a new alignment for Poland. In 1933 he spread rumors of a Polish preventive war against Germany in order to avert the possibility of a four-power agreement of France, Germany, Italy, and Great Britain that would satisfy German revisionist demands at Poland's expense.

Prevention of a rapprochement of the Western powers with Germany remained one of two pillars of Polish foreign policy between the two world wars; the other was the exclusion of Rus-

sia from European affairs, for Poland feared that any collective security involving Russia against Germany would inevitably bring Russian troops into Poland. Convinced that Russia, not Germany, was the chief threat, Piłsudski and his successor Józef Beck closed all but the German option. The Polish leaders were also driven by internal political pressures to maintain Poland's posture as a great power, a status repeatedly denied to them by the Western powers and one that they hoped to achieve by parity with Germany. To maintain friendly relations with Hitler's Germany they sacrificed the Jews of Danzig, political control of the city, and even the Polish minority in the Reich. The Polish ambassador to Berlin, Józef Lipski, was so mesmerized by the image of Hitler as a revolutionary, free of the Prussian heritage, defying the German Foreign Office and the army in his friendship for Poland, that he could not see Hitler's obvious aims.

The Munich Agreement marked the demise of Polish German policy: the Four-Power Pact that Poland had tried to prevent since 1933 became a reality at Munich; although it was Czechoslovakia that paid the territorial price, Poland's position was fatefully undermined. She was excluded from participation in the rearrangement of Eastern Europe by her two former allies, Germany and France. In vain did Poland seek to regain her position as Germany's equal, first by seizing the long coveted Teschen area from Czechoslovakia and then by attempting a common boundary with Hungary. After Munich Hitler was certain that the Western powers would not oppose his expansion in the East. He felt the time was ripe to reduce Poland to the status of a hapless satellite revolving around the Berlin-Tokyo-Rome axis. As a first step he demanded Danzig. The ultimate irony was that while the Poles misunderstood the true nature of nazism, Hitler miscalculated the reactions of the isolated Poles. In October 1938 (the point at which the book ends) he was convinced that they would acquiesce without war.

In 1934, when asked by Karel Radek, editor of the *Izvestiya*, what Poland would do if faced by a German ultimatum and the threat of a superior German force, the Polish leaders had replied: "Poland will oppose force without weighing the chances of victory or the relativ-

ity of forces" (p. 52). In 1939 Poland had no other choice.

DAGMAR HORNA PERMAN
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G. R. ELTON. *Reform and Renewal: Thomas Cromwell and the Common Weal*. (The Wiles Lectures given at the Queen's University, Belfast, 1972.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 1973. Pp. x, 175. Cloth \$8.75, paper \$3.75.

In many ways *Reform and Renewal* is Professor Elton's most elegant and important work; it is the culmination of two decades of research, thought, imaginative reconstruction, and condensation. Despite the book's brevity (168 pages), Elton has written the best biography of Thomas Cromwell we have to date, even though the study is of an idea rather than a career. Elton has also presented us with a fascinating study of how intellectual aspiration is translated into political achievement. At the same time he has illumined a host of essential subjects—the aim of Tudor government; the crucial role of Parliament and its ability to amend, and at times thwart, the economic and social policies of the Crown; and the key position of Cromwell not only in organizing and stimulating social reformers, but in editing and adapting their ideas to the exigencies of practical politics.

For years Elton has maintained that Cromwell was the master architect of the Reformation. Now Elton seeks to extend that responsibility to include social as well as religious reform and to endow the Lord Privy Seal with an intellectualism appropriate to a systematic and long-range social thinker. For reasons not always made clear, the author insists that Thomas Cromwell must be redressed in the garb of the intellectual—baggy pants, elbow patches, and all—and be divested of his managerial pinstripe suit. Personally I find the latter more becoming than the former, and many historians will hesitate to strip Cromwell entirely of his medieval habit and turn him into a "social engineer." Nevertheless, the Cromwell who emerges is for the first time human and three-dimensional, not only because he is both complex and believable but also because the final verdict on the man must remain in doubt: whether to be impressed by how much he achieved, despite the shortness of his political

career and the bitter opposition he encountered, or to be disappointed by how few of those grandiose concepts were actually translated into meaningful legislation. On the one hand, in terms of social genesis, his two most important statutes—the Sheep Act of 1534 and the Poor Law of 1536—are remarkable pieces of reform legislation, original and radical yet practical. On the other hand, as they were actually passed, they are mere emasculated curiosities. However, the range of Cromwell's interests, the breadth of knowledge on which he was able to draw, and the extent of his efforts to transform muddle-headed Commonwealth social and economic ideas into statutory reality are extraordinary. Whether all this makes Cromwell an intellectual is another matter. Almost all of the evidence Elton gathers to prove the point—Cromwell's patronage of Commonwealth men, his interest in history, his concern for the welfare of the kingdom, and his ability to talk on equal terms with intellectuals—could also be used to prove Henry VIII to be a "true" intellectual, which is too much for anyone to stomach.

What Elton succeeds in doing is placing Cromwell solidly within a framework of parliamentary politics that bears almost no similarity to the traditional Pollardian myth of a servile and obedient Lords and Commons. Cromwell's world was one of interest groups, lobbying and amending legislation to protect tanners and lawyers, urban privileges and landed rights. Under such modern circumstances it may be surprising that the Lord Privy Seal was able to push through even a shadow of reform, and it certainly helps to explain his ultimate fall. By 1540, much as he sought by immaculate parliamentary strategy to accommodate all factions, Cromwell had trampled on so many toes and endangered so many vested interests that, except for a small, politically ineffectual and at times irresponsible group of Commonwealth intellectuals, he stood alone. We have always known that he was detested for his religious liberalism; now Elton shows us how economically and socially dangerous he must have appeared to the Establishment.

Mention of the Establishment raises an intriguing point: the king's relationship to his servant and to an Establishment that viewed him as God's lieutenant on earth. During the

long parliamentary struggle to save the Sheep Act and the Poor Law, Cromwell called upon Henry personally to intercede on behalf of both bills as they were originally drawn up by the government. In the case of the Poor Law there is evidence that the king did in fact speak in Commons, exhorting the Lower House to see if the bill "be for a common weal to his subjects and have an eye thitherward" (p. 124). Despite Henry's cautious support, Parliament rejected the bill until it had been amended almost out of existence. The monarch's reaction to such independence on the part of his loyal Commons is not recorded, but the image of a Pollardian rubber-stamp Parliament must be discarded for good. Even the picture of an Eltonian king is rather seriously damaged; and in its place appears the extraordinary portrait of a "Commonwealth" sovereign, joining with his reforming minister to introduce new and disturbing social legislation. Indeed, the question posed by Professor Elton twenty years ago has returned again to haunt us: Was the man behind the Henrician reformation king or minister?

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH
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DEREK WILSON. *A Tudor Tapestry: Men, Women and Society in Reformation England*. [Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1972. Pp. viii, 287. \$9.95.

The title of this book is rather misleading: the author's tapestry is not as broad as his subtitle suggests. Its central figure is Anne Ayscough (Askew), who was burned at Smithfield in July 1546, the most famous victim of the last great heresy-hunt of the reign of Henry VIII. Wilson's principal concern is to show how she came to her martyrdom and to use her story to illustrate the impact of the Reformation on the lives of "ordinary men and women" (p. 4), who turn out to be mostly gentry and lesser people at court. The Ayscoughs were a Lincolnshire family; so after a brief introductory section the author concentrates on the decade between the Pilgrimage of Grace, in which Anne's father played an equivocal part, and Anne's death. He shifts his scene frequently and skillfully between Lincolnshire and the court, where he traces the changes in religious policy and atti-

tudes that affected the lives of the Ayscoughs and the rest of the Lincolnshire gentry. Wilson tells his sad story interestingly and well, and many of the figures in the drama—particularly less familiar ones like John Lascelles, Anne's fellow martyr, and Dr. Edward Crome, the radical preacher who knew how to recant—come vividly alive. The book breaks no new ground, however, and there is no critical analysis. Wilson relies heavily upon Foxe and upon Anne's own accounts of her interrogations, which are themselves not above suspicion; the motives of all those who were involved in her martyrdom, from the king on down, were at best worldly. It is quite reasonable to assume, for example, that at her first interrogation Bishop Bonner was genuinely trying to save her from herself, as James Gairdner suggests in his article on her in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; to Wilson, Bonner is the usual devil-figure of Protestant martyrology, and the author does not deal very convincingly with the awkward fact that Bonner let Anne go, even though she later claimed that she attached reservations to her confession. There is also rather too much writing like the following: "As the ascetic figure [Bishop Longland] gazed from his study window at the spring thrusting into his Buckinghamshire acres, he could reflect that he had done his utmost to grasp the quicksilver heresy" (p. 38). There are some faulty statements in the background sections—the Valois-Habsburg struggle was not "age-old" in 1519 (p. 18), and to describe Wolsey's policy at that time as pro-French is misleading at best—and the author occasionally assumes that British is a synonym for English (for example, see page 111). Allowance made for all that, however, the book is enjoyable, and some chapters, notably that on the Pilgrimage of Grace in Lincolnshire, are very good pieces of narrative.

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V. NORSKOV OLSEN. *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 264. \$11.50.

From its title one would expect this to be a

study of the institution of the English Church and the role played by Foxe and his martyrology in its history under Elizabeth. Instead it is an analysis of Foxe's theology and those religio-historical concepts that led him to write the *Acts and Monuments* (1563). Foxe is close to the center of the spectrum represented by the churchmen of the early years of the reign, not the radical Puritan he is so often depicted. Olsen calls him an Anglican Puritan, one who accepted the Establishment, episcopacy and all, but with the firm hope of carrying reform further in a Protestant direction. In this he was one with the first generation of Elizabethan bishops. And like them he reacted strongly against Cartwright's attack, convinced that dissension in the Church of England would seriously advantage the Church of Rome.

As a theologian, Foxe's significance lies not in his originality but rather in that his thought is so very typical of these men. Olsen offers a strong demurrer to the view that "Foxe built his story around Luther." He was far too English in his interpretation of Christian historiography to take such a position. At the same time Olsen rejects the view that Foxe's work was "religionationalistic." He sees Foxe as genuinely and deeply ecumenical, the essential condition of his ecumenicism being his firm belief in religious toleration. Foxe was the gentlest of men, driven, as he worked on his martyrology, not to demand revenge against the persecutors, but to attack religious persecution itself and to conclude that "toleration is a mark of the true church, and persecution a sign of an apostate church." His was not a rational theory of toleration. He was simply revolted by the burning of fellow human beings. The spirit of Jesus, he declared, was to persuade, not to coerce. But Foxe left unanswered the question of what he would do when persuasion failed.

Olsen's study is a solid contribution to our knowledge and understanding of a major Tudor figure. But many readers will find the heavily theological orientation of his approach forbidding. James Mozley's biography and William Haller's *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (1963) still provide the best introduction to the man and his work.

W. M. SOUTHGATE
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EDWARD CARSON. *The Ancient and Rightful Customs: A History of the English Customs Service*. Foreword by A. W. TAYLOR. [Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1972. Pp. 336. \$12.50.

The development of parliamentary government in Britain has been the development of parliamentary control of public money from the collection of the revenue to the final accounting of its expenditure. As a revenue agency the Customs was in the center of the long struggle between the monarchy and Parliament for financial power. And as foreign trade increased so did the work, the size, and the importance of the customs service. By the nineteenth century three-fourths of the revenue came from indirect taxation; only in the years immediately preceding the First World War did the balance shift in favor of direct taxation.

Edward Carson, librarian of the Customs Department and keeper of its archives, is well placed to write *The Ancient and Rightful Customs*. His interest is in the years after 1671 when the system of farming the Customs was ended and the permanent administration of the department was established. The organization and function of the department seem to be his themes, but the arrangement of the book is so severely chronological that almost all themes are lost. Only the problem of smuggling is treated distinctly in two chapters, which describe the change from large-scale smuggling by armed bands of men—popularly called free traders—prepared to fight it out with customs officials to that of modern petty smugglers whose method is the concealment of illegal goods in legitimate cargoes.

The control of smuggling required the department to have a large establishment at sea as well as on shore. It was natural therefore for the government to call upon the Customs to perform a variety of other functions, and the growth of government can be illustrated by the growth of the nonrevenue functions of the customs service: the supervision of immigration and emigration, the enforcement of quarantine regulations, and the control of imports that might contravene laws of health, copyright, obscenity, and fair trade practices. With the amalgamation of the Customs and Excise Departments in 1911, the operations have been expanded to cover the collection of purchase

tax in addition to the customary excise duties on consumer goods such as spirits and tobacco.

The author touches on these functions of the customs service, but without topical development the text lacks clarity. Moreover, one of the most important changes in the organization of the department is virtually neglected—that is, the end of patronage and the adoption of competitive examinations in 1870. The earliest formal departmental combinations appeared in the Customs and Inland Revenue Departments, which were among the largest in the civil service, where salaries tended to be low and conditions of service varied from one port to another and from one local tax office to another. Nowhere does Carson offer adequate information on the size, organization, and reform of the department.

The book is not a connected narrative but a chronicle of incidents in the history of the Customs and Excise Department. The most useful section is the list of departmental records, which since 1958 have been in the process of being sorted, indexed, and transferred to the Public Record Office.

ANN M. BURTON
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HENRI and BARBARA VAN DER ZEE. *William and Mary*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1973. Pp. xv. 526. x. \$12.50.

Mr. and Mrs. van der Zee, who are both journalists, have read widely in the secondary materials and have produced an attractive popular biography of William and Mary. Perhaps it would not be flippant to call it a biography of Mary and William, for their sympathies are clearly with the queen. They write engagingly and with real warmth about her daily round, her hopes and fears, her deep religious beliefs; they succeed in bringing to life the most charming and by no means the least able of the Stuarts. With William III they are less successful. Wisely, perhaps, they avoid any deep consideration of military, diplomatic, administrative, or political matters, the topics to which the prince devoted his adult life. The result is a work having a certain element of truth to it but curiously feminine in character and outlook, like the woman's page of a daily newspaper. One can imagine a joint biography of

President and Mrs. Johnson with all the political issues merely stated and with as much space devoted to Mrs. Johnson's campaign against road signs as to her husband's war in Vietnam. Such a book would be very like this one; and most of us would think that such a book would demonstrate poor historical taste. Mrs. Johnson is obviously a remarkable woman and one who deserves biographies of her own. But in any serious joint study the work of her husband would deserve and demand pride of place. Vietnam was more important than beautification.

A similar lack of taste is to be noted in the van der Zees' use of sources. References to the works of Nancy Mitford and John Carswell are made with exactly the same seriousness as those to the major historical sources. No scholar would rely, as the van der Zees do, on the works of Macaulay, Jesse, and Sir Winston Churchill. The authors' assumption that the king's relationships with men were homosexual is based very largely on material coming from Versailles and, in particular, on the letters of the duchesse d'Orléans, who obviously could not have known what the facts were and who equally obviously had her own axe to grind. Would she have felt the same way if William had become her son-in-law? Her letters may have some value in estimating the moral climate of the Court of Versailles; they have no value whatever in evaluating the moral climate of the Court of St. James. The rumors are there, but no one now living can demonstrate whether there is any truth to them.

It would be easy for any professional to find fault with what is essentially a piece of journalism. The age of Charles II as given in the text is off by ten years, of Louis XIV by five, of William of Gloucester by two. The date given for Louis XIV's marriage is wrong by two years, Compton is elevated to the see of London at least four years prematurely, the Declaration of Indulgence is put in 1673 rather than in 1672, and so on. But that is not the real point. Why is it that journalists and other amateurs, the van der Zees, the Mitfords, the Longfords, are taking the bread out of our mouths? We should be able to beat them with ease, since we can achieve accuracy and are paid to develop a good historical taste. The simpler answer is that we no longer care to communicate with

nonspecialists. And that is stupid of us, for if we refuse to write history, the amateurs will have a stab at it. If we refuse to teach history in the classroom, the students will troop off to classes in sociology, psychology, and the performing arts. In the short run we shall lose our royalties and in the long run our jobs. If we have any instinct of self-preservation, this book should be a warning to us. We must learn to compete with the van der Zees and the Longfords as writers of prose, we must learn to compete in the classroom with our colleagues of the social sciences. It is not enough to accumulate knowledge, like Browning's "Grammarians"; we must remember that we accumulate knowledge for a purpose. We must teach as well as learn. And if we make ourselves write as well as the van der Zees do, there will always be an audience.

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JAMES LEE MCKELVEY. *George III and Lord Bute: The Leicester House Years*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 149. \$5.75.

Had this little book been published a year earlier, it would have been a modest though respectable contribution to our knowledge about George III in the five years or so preceding his accession. Mr. McKelvey has drawn heavily upon important and unexploited original sources, particularly the Bute Papers still in the family's possession, and upon the Newcastle, Hardwicke, and Holderness Papers in the British Museum and the Minto Papers at Edinburgh. He allows himself much too little room, however, in his narrow preoccupation with details of political jockeying. In addition he has had the misfortune—and it is a virtual catastrophe—to publish his work only a short time after the important biographies by John Brooke and Stanley Ayling. The cockboat is caught in the wake of dreadnoughts.

The interpretation is mildly critical of the Namier thesis and puts a Whiggish, Butterfield-like construction upon events. The young prince's grandiloquent ideas about the bondage of the Crown to wicked and self-seeking

politicians, the prevalence of corruption and misgovernment, and the diminution of the liberty of the people were not "innocent flapdoodle" as Sir Lewis said. They became basic premises for political action after the accession of the new king in 1760. The zealotry, moral self-righteousness, and deep frustration George developed as a prince under Lord Bute's close tutelage provide for McKelvey the key to "that unhappy monarch's" rule. Indeed, these years proved to be "a fitting prelude to a long and disastrous reign" (p. 142).

Certainly the political schemes of the prince and Bute in the Leicester House years were not crowned with success. They failed to win an army command for the heir, though in view of his utter inexperience in military matters this may be reckoned a stroke of great good fortune for the prince and the nation alike. Happily, too, their ill-formed interference in strategy during the Seven Years' War also proved infructuous. They helped force Pitt on a reluctant George II, to be sure, and, McKelvey shows in a correction of Namier, Bute succeeded in building up a faction of about ten in the House of Commons. Yet Pitt in power served the king and not the prince and his "dearest friend"; and the parliamentary following passed in the fullness of time to the support of King George III, who himself soon came to the painful realization that his mentor was hopelessly inept as a political leader.

McKelvey's view is too static; and he fails to invest the prince or Bute with those rich elements of humanity that Brooke and Ayling supply. Bute did not endow Prince George with political understanding. Neither ever saw the paradox implicit in the weakening of the crown that the heir would one day wear. As king, however, George III became a politician of high merit and effectiveness, and his political understanding within a decade of his accession was second to no man in the kingdom. Further, McKelvey does not see that the king's very Whiggishness—the veneration of the constitution and the acceptance of the people's support and love as a sovereign's only security—was largely the product of the Scottish earl who was his teacher. In the final analysis, a persuasive argument can be made in behalf of the position that the nation profited from a king who had thus been taught his

place in Britain's eighteenth-century constitution.

CHARLES R. RITCHESON

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R. G. GARNETT. *Co-operation and the Owenite Socialist Communities in Britain, 1825-45*. [Manchester:] Manchester University Press; distrib. by Hillary House, New York. 1972. Pp. xii, 272. \$15.25.

This volume provides the first detailed modern treatment of the three main Owenite communities attempted in Great Britain, Orbiston in Lanarkshire, Ralahine in County Clare, and Queenwood in Hampshire. It also poses the larger question of the depth of the communitarian and cooperative impulse in early industrial Britain as evidenced by the popular response to Owenite doctrine.

The author has drawn upon a wide variety of documentation to clarify the generally tragic tales of these communitarian experiments. Orbiston (1825-27) and Ralahine (1831-33) were inspired originally by Owenite principles but both proceeded with little assistance from the master. Each was financed by well-meaning bourgeois and set up on the estates of Owenite sympathizers. Each had loyal, hard-working, and intelligent directors—Abram Combe and E. T. Craig, respectively. But Orbiston collapsed under its own weight while Ralahine fell only after the owner of the lands, John Scott Vandeleur, gambled them away. The two differed considerably in structure and composition. Orbiston drew distraught artisans from various parts of Scotland and England; some were vaguely imbued with communitarian ideals, and the goal of equal distribution, whatever the work input, was promoted immediately. The lack of experienced farmers undermined the possibility of agricultural autarchy while industrial productivity was hurt by shortage of funds for fixed capital costs, inferior workmanship, and sluggish output. Above all, the spirit of the community was damaged by animosity toward a number of simple freeloaders. At Ralahine, on the other hand, the co-operators were drawn largely from the local agricultural population, and exchange was based on labor notes, the only time such devices were successfully introduced into a communitarian

experiment. Ralahine would not rightly be termed socialist, but as a transitional form of social arrangement, it may have had some viability. In any case, at the point of Vandeleur's incredible betrayal, it was showing clear signs of success.

Queenwood (1839-45) was created by Robert Owen, but even here, just as the experiment was getting off the ground, he agreed to act only as a kind of honorary director. As the author points out, Owen seems to have had an inexplicable incapacity to face concrete responsibility, at least after New Lanark, and therefore rendered great harm to many of the projects he spawned. Although it lasted for six years and was better financed, Queenwood suffered from problems similar to those of Orbiston. Moreover Owenism was being openly persecuted by the government, Queenwood itself was subjected to scurrilous attacks, and capital became increasingly hard to come by. Only the Herculean efforts of William Pare kept it alive after 1842. In later years turnover became immense as the members were reduced to survival rations. It finally collapsed under a mountainous debt that took decades to pay off. Queenwood and a growing recognition of Owen's inadequacies would appear to have dealt the mortal blow to the Owenite movement in Great Britain.

Unfortunately the author fails to deal adequately with broader issues. Except for a few pages, one gains little sense of the dimensions of the Owenite impact on working people. He makes no attempt to delineate the social composition or the geographical distribution of Owenism. He is even vague on the membership of the communities themselves. The essential question (who were the Owenites?) is not answered. Recent writers on the French working-class movement are increasingly discovering the power of the cooperative, worker-control ideal over the minds of working people (especially journeymen artisans) in the 1840s and 1850s. The disruptive impact of modern industry on older forms of work—which Garnett certainly alludes to—was the root of this impulse. A recent dissertation by Bernard Moss argues convincingly that this ideal did much to form the character of the later French labor movement. When I picked up Garnett's study and read his first few pages, I thought that such an interpre-

tation might emerge from his evidence as well. But, aside from a chapter connecting a largely faceless Owenism with cooperative thought and action in the 1830s, there is little in this book that delves into the consciousness of workers, *cooperators or otherwise*. Had he spent half the research time attempting to pursue the lives and outlooks of common Owenites that he did on exhuming the financial details of the creation and collapse of the experiments, he would have produced a study of real interest to social historians.

As it stands, we may have a slightly better understanding of Owen and certainly a clearer picture of the British Owenite experiments, but for the student seeking a more general appreciation of the Owenite movement and the importance of Owenism in British working-class culture, he should still turn to E. P. Thompson's *Making of the English Working Class* (1963) or John Harrison's *Quest for a New Moral World* (1969).

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DEREK HUDSON. *Munby, Man of Two Worlds: The Life and Diaries of Arthur J. Munby, 1828-1910*. [Boston:] Gambit. 1972. Pp. ix, 461. \$12.50.

RAYMOND L. SCHULTS. *Crusader in Babylon: W. T. Stead and the Pall Mall Gazette*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1972. Pp. xvi, 277. \$8.95.

"Ah, ours is a story that, a hundred years hence, no one would believe," said Hannah, the servant girl, in 1874 to A. J. Munby, the minor poet and ecclesiastical commission clerk whom she had married sixteen months before. The story of their strange (and, on Munby's part, secret) relationship, which lasted from 1854 until Hannah died in 1909, has a pathos and fascination that make *Munby* compulsive reading for anyone who has a taste for human variety and paradox. For specialists in Victorian history Munby's diaries have an additional value, for they vividly describe forgotten aspects of Victorian society and sometimes report the conversations of the poor with the sympathetic directness shown by Henry Mayhew himself. Derek Hudson rightly claims that Munby "might have made an excellent descrip-

tive reporter" (p. 100). There are also valuable topographical details, especially for the London area, though as a source of information the book suffers from its inadequate index, starved of sufficient subject headings.

Added to this is the wealth of information Munby provides on interesting personalities. Not that Munby ever associated closely with the great: socially he rose no higher than the gathering of London *littérateurs* and could expect to hear of the queen's doings at Osborne in the 1860s only through a third party. And although he includes sharply drawn impressions of prominent literary figures like Ruskin, Monckton Milnes, Theodore Martin, Frances Power Cobbe, and others, his diaries' main interest lies in their closely observed portraits of working girls. Munby's lifelong hobby was to conduct a personal research program into their dress, habits, personalities, and ways of speech. Indeed, his long association with Hannah never entirely shed the flavor of research and social experiment with which it began; he meticulously recorded its details in the voluminous diaries that he carefully preserved for posterity in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Hudson enriches this strange story by including extracts from Hannah's own diary and several of Munby's sketches and photographs. Munby's life—or half life—was spent in observing the lives of others, and there is a detachment about his narrative (even in relation to his own doings) that is reflected in the fact that he could attend the Derby in 1863 "not to see the race, but to see those who go to see it" (p. 162).

Until scholars thoroughly scrutinize Munby's diary in the original, we shall not know how effectively Hudson has done his job. He does not clearly state his principles of selection, nor does he fully explain the function Munby intended the diary to perform. But he does periodically discuss the history of his source as well as the biography of its author, and his approach is always fair minded and sympathetic. If the criterion of editorial success is the reader's eagerness to get his eyes on the original, then Hudson has succeeded triumphantly. In their predominantly private preoccupations, recorded with a wealth of documentation, both Munby and Walter (in his recently published *My Secret Life*) remind the historian of the un-

importance of politics for many Victorians. "Today, Parliament is dissolved," Munby wrote on January 26, 1874: "All over England, the rabble of squires, lawyers, politicians, and democrats are let loose at each others' throats. But Hannah and I hear them not" (p. 358). Historians will particularly value the rich perspective provided by the diaries on the Victorian class conventions subverted by this couple at every turn. Munby and Walter both lace their diaries with ironic conversations, bizarre social situations, and unexpected social juxtapositions, though Munby was (by contrast) refreshingly reticent on the physical details of his sex life.

Whereas *Munby* illustrates Victorian class divisions being broken down through individual liaisons, Shults's study of W. T. Stead's journalistic innovations in the *Pall Mall Gazette* during the 1880s reveals another source of social cohesion—the puritanical crusade's linkage of working people with their employers in a joint assault on aristocrats and fops whose sexual relations with the lower orders were purely commercial. Shults's title is somewhat misleading. The book is not a sensational treatment of the "Maiden Tribute" articles of 1885, which in fact receive only two of the nine chapters; it is a scholarly and well-documented account of a fruitful period in the history of the British press. Unlike many press historians, Shults does not content himself with merely patching together a narrative out of surviving editorial correspondence. He has closely scrutinized the paper itself from day to day; he includes illustrations that clarify the paper's actual appearance; and his view of Stead is never uncritical.

It is interesting to speculate what Munby and Stead would have thought of one another had they met. Stead would no doubt have found Munby lacking in fire and vigor. As for Munby's view of Stead, perhaps Munby's enthusiastic response to Gosse's *Father and Son* provides a clue. When he reviewed it at the age of eighty, Munby showed a breadth of sympathy and a delicacy of perception that Stead did not possess and a distance from crudely evangelical forms of Christianity that Stead could never afford to display. Gosse himself had little time for Stead; in a letter of 1886 to R. L. Stevenson, he spoke of Stead's "spurious revela-

tions" in 1885. Both these books undoubtedly enrich our growing appreciation of the complex and often unexpected ways in which Victorian religion could affect individual conduct.

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G. KITSON CLARK. *Churchmen and the Condition of England, 1832-1885: A Study in the Development of Social Ideas and Practice from the Old Regime to the Modern State.* [London:] Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1973. Pp. xxi, 353. \$15.75.

Norman Sykes used to say that the two centuries in the history of the Church of England most difficult to handle were the sixteenth and the nineteenth, the centuries of reformation. An issue that became increasingly prominent in Victorian England was the social gospel—a response to the "condition of England" question, which was a constantly changing collection of many questions: population, drains, disease, water supply, housing, schools, destitution, wages, labor conditions, local class separation, class antagonism, and even at times privy conspiracy and rebellion. In this book Dr. Kitson Clark examines reactions to these problems among the clergy and committed lay members of the Church of England.

He confesses that he has found this subject difficult to handle—and no wonder, for it is vast and the evidence is fragmentary but voluminous, and inevitably from the often untypical articulate minority. To some extent this path has been trodden before—by Raven, Reckitt, Binyon, and other believers, and by some others since. In this book there is a broader view and a different perspective. Dr. Kitson Clark is mindful always of the daunting variety of Victorian religious and intellectual life, the background to these more specialist studies. He relates these opinions, in a way most earlier writers did not, to the remarkable administrative developments in the Victorian state. He follows the story from the ethically and Christian-oriented state defended in principle by the young Gladstone, to the arrival of the modern omniscient democratic state, almost irresistibly powerful, in practice agnostic (though retaining some vestigial attachments to the Christian religion),

and concerned with the material circumstances of life, keeping aloof so far as may be from its spiritual inwardness.

He divides his book into three sections: the first on the Church before 1832; the second on the period 1832-65, the high summer of rectory culture; and the third on 1865-85 (and rather beyond), under the title "Democracy and Collectivism." One great merit here is the attention paid to the priest in the parish, and rightly so, because it was in the parishes that the Church of England succeeded or failed. In the unreformed regime he sees the clergy as fulfilling three sets of functions. First, there were those spiritual functions that were the essence of their calling. Then there were—and these more particularly interest him—their social and governmental functions. These latter for various reasons quite naturally accrued to the late eighteenth-century parish clergyman, for as a minister of the Establishment he was not a mere denominational pastor, but responsible for all in his parish, whether they went to church, meeting, mass house, infidel readings, or nowhere. Kitson Clark makes an interesting correction of the fashionable hostile stereotype of the clerical justice. He also makes the important point that the nursing mother of even the reforming early Victorian clergy was the old, lazy, unreformed Georgian church. The clergy carried over into different days old habits of authority, not accepting that their care was for souls only, and not for bodies at all.

Considering how much the clergy were involved by connection, by education, often by private patronage, and even by the reformed property arrangements of the Church, with Dives rather than with Lazarus, the number—and still more the weight and quality—of those who battled for Lazarus and even identified themselves with him, is impressive. Perhaps without the parson's freehold they might have been fewer. Besides the known heroes of these battles, Dr. Kitson Clark brings to the fore lesser-known men who contended in practice and in theory, before it was fashionable so to do, with the dismal science and what appeared to be its dreadful consequences. Dr. Kitson Clark here is careful to indicate ways in which he thinks the dismal scientists were misunderstood. He has long contended with the notion that the modernization of British gov-

ernment and administration came "by Bentham out of Chadwick" merely. He has drawn attention to the importance of the professions and to the work of civil servants and medical men. Here he exhibits the not insignificant efforts of Church of England men, lay and clerical, and some excellent ladies. These Anglican swallows may not make a summer; they make a very decent spring. Perhaps their summer came posthumously, when the influence of Gore, Mansbridge, and William Temple was strong and when the Beveridge report was a marvel of the age.

Yet for all they did—maybe because they often had allies not of their persuasion, sometimes not Christians; or because in the crucial field of education they met the enmity of rival Christian bodies; or mainly because, as Kitson Clark says, the Church of England did not have the resources to do what was needed, but the state had—they could not prevent the gradual extrusion of the Church from fields in which it had blazed trails. It was indeed a significant revolution that, whereas Brougham could seriously consider national education as the responsibility of the national Church, hardly more than a century after, the assumption was general that national education was the business of the national state.

This is a richly furnished book, to which it is impossible to do justice in a short review. It is the fruit of the long reflection of a distinguished authority. It suggests lines of future inquiry and exemplifies that sympathetic historical imagination with which these lines should be pursued.

R. W. GREAVES
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J. BUTT and I. F. CLARKE, editors. *The Victorians and Social Protest: A Symposium*. [Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1973. Pp. 243. \$11.00.

The papers that make up this volume were delivered at a symposium held at the University of Strathclyde in 1971. As is often the case on such occasions, the participants did not stick too closely to the announced topic. But they produced a number of pieces that will be of interest to students of Victoriana. Robin Gilmore argues that the essential development of Charles Dickens's social thought "lies through

a rejection of the self-made man, towards an affirmation of a gentlemanly ideal which has been purged of its associations with class and social ambition." In a lively and ingenious essay, James Redmond contrasts the socialist ideas of G. B. Shaw and William Morris. Shaw's meritocratic socialism turns out to have affinities with the views of Plato, St. Paul, and St. Simeon Stylites, whereas Morris is linked to Jesus, St. Francis, and William Blake. In another paper, presenting the results of detailed research, J. H. Treble shows that the Irish immigrants in the North of England had little contact with the Chartist movement until 1848. The most substantial contribution to the symposium is H. J. Perkin's well-wrought analysis of the impact on the Liberal party of the land reform agitation of the 1880s.

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Columbia University

JOSEF L. ALTHOLZ *et al.*, editors. *The Correspondence of Lord Acton and Richard Simpson*. Volume 2. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1973. Pp. 341. \$35.00.

Lord Acton was the most prominent and intransigent liberal Catholic in England in the nineteenth century. It is a tribute to his firmness of character and principle that he was able, even as a young man, to resist the pressures not only of influential ultramontanes in the hierarchy and laity but also of highly respected, more moderate, and less aggressive liberals such as John Henry Newman. As editor of the *Rambler* from 1859 to 1862 (he was only twenty-five when he took over this journal), Acton had ample occasion to do battle with both groups. This second volume of his correspondence with his associate Richard Simpson gives evidence of the suspicion aroused by Acton's attempt to carry out what he took to be the simple and eminently reasonable doctrine of liberal Catholicism: "In politics as in science the church need not seek her own ends—she will obtain them if she encourages the pursuit of the ends of science, which are truth—and of the state, which are liberty." The third and final volume of this edition will demonstrate how the *Home and Foreign Review*, successor to the *Rambler*, foundered on that doctrine.

Many of the letters in the present volume originally appeared, in much less accurate and complete form, in *Lord Acton and His Circle*, edited by Cardinal Gasquet and published in 1906. If this edition is infinitely to be preferred over the old in terms of precision and definitiveness, one may still regret the abandonment of the conception expressed in Gasquet's title—the bringing together of the correspondence not only of Acton and Simpson but of all the other contributors, advisers, friends, and critics of these journals. As it stands, we must still piece together much of the story from other sources. But some bits of it emerge much more clearly in the present volume than in the old. We can now appreciate just how much editing went into the *Rambler*, how freely Acton and Simpson altered other contributors' articles, how often one would initiate an idea and another complete it. We shall have to be more wary of using these and perhaps other journal articles as definitive statements of the author's views.

This volume impresses us once again with the extraordinary facility and versatility of Victorian men of letters. Today a historian capable of ranging over two continents or a few centuries is praised as a "generalist." Then, Acton, Simpson, and most of their contributors were expected to write confidently and naturally about a variety of subjects: history, literature, politics, theology, and philosophy. This ease and familiarity are reflected in their letters; it was in the same matter-of-fact tone, the same patient detail, the same assumption of shared interest, that they related the most recdite historical episode and the latest tidbit of political gossip. Yet this did not bespeak a free and easy way with facts or ideas. On the contrary, what is remarkable is the high level of thought and scholarship that were so naturally and effortlessly communicated in personal letters as well as in formal essays.

GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB

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DUDLEY W. R. BAHLMAN, editor. *The Diary of Sir Edward Walter Hamilton, 1880-1885*. Volume 1, 1880-1882; volume 2, 1883-1885. New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. Pp. lii, 381; 384-994. \$34.00 the set.

The diary of Edward Hamilton, the publica-

tion of which has now begun, is one of the richest sources of information on the political history of Britain in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. Hamilton had privileged opportunities for intimate observation of the great, first as Gladstone's private secretary during the eventful and unhappy ministry of 1880 to 1885, then as head of the finance division of the Treasury serving a long succession of Chancellors of the Exchequer. The son of a bishop of Salisbury and educated at Eton and Christ Church, where he became a close friend of Lord Rosebery, he spent his evenings and weekends as a welcome guest in the highest and most influential social circles. By the time he left Gladstone's service in 1885 he had won the confidence of the queen, the Prince of Wales, and leaders in both parties and both factions of the Liberal party—Lord Randolph Churchill described him as "one of the most excellent and intelligent Private Secretaries any minister ever had the good fortune to possess"; and he was called upon repeatedly as a trusted intermediary.

He began his diary right after the Liberal victory in the general election of 1880, impressed, indeed overawed, at the prospect of attending upon the Grand Old Man. Though the combined pressure of Gladstone's demands and London society gave him few moments to himself, he kept the diary up, and as his responsibilities grew, his entries in the diary lengthened. It was for him a service to posterity, a record of the sayings and doings of his master and, more broadly, of the momentous course of events in which Mr. Gladstone was the central figure. Hamilton was no Boswell, because Gladstone to him was not simply an impressive human being but a towering force possessed of vision, unmatched powers of speech, and almost unflagging energy, despite his age, a man who was engaged in a heroic struggle against the intractabilities of Ireland and Egypt and the machinations of Tories and dissident Liberals. When Bismarck was making trouble in 1884, Hamilton wondered whether his behavior might reflect jealousy of Mr. Gladstone's prestige among the peoples of Europe. Still, Hamilton was not uncritical of his hero; his reverence for Mr. Gladstone struggled against his own more prosaic, down-to-earth assessments of the passing political scene, and he

went through agony over Mr. Gladstone's crusade for Home Rule in 1886. Hamilton was a believing, conventional Liberal: "The more one reads history," he noted in 1884, "the more convinced does one become that, with certain mistakes in human nature, the Liberals are right in the long run." His judgments are never profound. But they could be cutting, as in his entry for April 25, 1885: "The Central Asian question, like many other questions, would never have given rise to present difficulties had the Government looked ahead a little more in time." What makes his diary so important is not his commentary but his detailed observation of the irritating as well as the admirable features of Mr. Gladstone's conduct and of the conversations with which Hamilton's sociable evenings were full.

The volumes now published present the diary in full from its beginning to Hamilton's appointment to the Treasury at the end of June 1885; and it is very much to be hoped that the rest will follow soon. The work is prefaced with an able introduction including an indispensable biography of Hamilton; a thorough index makes the diary easy to mine; and the footnotes not only identify names and passing references, but also pinpoint the letters in the Gladstone papers from which often long paragraphs in the diary are derived. In short, the job of editing has been handled with painstaking though unobtrusive skill. Dr. Bahlman has given us the diary as Hamilton undoubtedly would have wished.

PETER MARSH
Syracuse University

H. V. EMY. *Liberals, Radicals and Social Politics, 1892-1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 318. \$19.50.

This is one of a score of recent books that illumine the condition and prospects of the Liberal party on the eve of the First World War. Mr. Emy is mainly concerned with the development and the impact of what is commonly known as the New Liberalism. He prefers to describe it as Social Radicalism. J. A. Hobson and L. T. Hobhouse were its chief theorists. In the Asquith ministry from 1908 onward, Lloyd George and, for a briefer time, Winston Churchill were its most prominent and successful advocates.

A distinct group of Social Radical M.P.'s began to emerge in the party in the 1890s. After the Liberal victory of 1906 they were strong enough to impose many of their preferences. The passage of Lloyd George's national insurance scheme in 1911 did not, as is often supposed, mark the end of the Liberal commitment to an advanced social program. Despite electoral setbacks, growing industrial unrest, Tory obstruction, and near civil war in Ireland, the commitment was sustained. Lloyd George's "land crusade" launched in 1913 may have sparked little enthusiasm in urban areas; and the Social Radicals themselves may often have been divided—for example, between single taxers and nationalizers on the land question. But the party by the eve of the war had become so involved with trying to remedy the injustices of the existing system that it could no longer properly be described as "a capitalist party." It was certainly not moribund. Doubts about its future centered not so much on the adaptability of its creed as on the defections and apathy of many of its business and professional adherents in the constituencies.

Could the Liberals in these circumstances compensate for organizational weaknesses with a doctrine and with proposals that would win wide working-class support and re-establish the electoral collaboration with Labour operative in 1906 and again in the two general elections of 1910? In other words, did the possibility exist, before the shattering experience of the war, of Liberal and Labour forces coming together to their mutual advantage in a broad progressive combination? This is perhaps the central question. Mr. Emy does not provide a satisfactory answer.

The stress of the New Liberalism, as he defines it, was on the right of the state to appropriate, through graduated taxation, socially created values for defined community ends. It further assumed a greatly augmented role for the state in guaranteeing minimum standards of life and labor. The results—including old-age pensions, minimum wage legislation, and health and unemployment insurance—were impressive enough to rob the parliamentary Labour party, which never numbered over forty-two M.P.'s, of what little thunder it possessed. Neither its predominant trade union section

nor its socialist wing at this time offered a viable parliamentary alternative.

Given the past considerable identity of interest and outlook in Labour and Liberal ranks, it is no easy task to determine how they were separated ideologically or to discern, except in the threat to Liberal seats, the real nature of the Labour challenge. Such distinctions have to be drawn, however, if the impact of the New Liberalism on party politics is to be appreciated. In approaching this problem Mr. Emy does not explore in any comprehensive way the program or policy of the Labour party or to what degree the party at this stage was socialist-oriented, and his consideration of how Liberal Social Radicalism differs from collectivism, or socialism, or, for that matter, Labourism, is ambiguous and evasive. He also ignores the free trade versus tariffs controversy and portrays the Conservatives as the defenders of economic orthodoxy. It can well be argued, however, that the Conservative tariff reformers represented almost as much of a threat to received economic doctrines as did the Liberals with their 1909 budget and their differentiation for purposes of taxation between earned and unearned income, and that the argument between the older parties was less about the need for social reform than about the means of financing it.

There are some errors. Churchill in December 1908 was calling for "a big slice of Bismarckianism," not of "Bismarckian tissue" (p. 178). In regard to the Osborne judgment of 1909, which cut off the Labour party from its trade union funds (p. 251), it was the late attorney general in the government, Sir William Robson, not Walter Runciman, who opposed outright any reversal of the judgment, and Loreburn, the lord chancellor, was not among those who considered payment of members an adequate solution.

In spite of errors, a woefully inadequate index, and a lack of theoretical rigor, this book has considerable merit. It is based on an examination of all the most pertinent available papers, it is rich and varied in its detail, and it adds importantly to the present huge body of literature on the predicament of the Edwardian Liberal party.

PHILIP P. POIRIER
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H. C. G. MATTHEW. *The Liberal Imperialists: The Ideas and Politics of a Post-Gladstonian Élite.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xvi, 331. \$17.75.

H. C. G. Matthew's *The Liberal Imperialists* was intended as "a study of the political and ideological development" of "a post-Gladstonian elite." Matthew discusses the political relations of the chief Liberal Imperialists in the years before the coming of the Liberal government of 1906, both in Parliament and, during the Boer War, in the extraparliamentary Liberal League. He describes, in sometimes staggering detail, the evolution of Liberal-Imperial policy on the Empire, Ireland, defense, and foreign and domestic affairs. Though useful, the book disappoints, both because it does not fulfill its promise of discussing "ideological development" and because of the author's narrow definition of the group he is studying.

The monograph's "elite" is not, as one might have expected, the fifty-eight Liberal-Imperial M.P.'s (there were also twenty-five Liberal Leaguers who stood unsuccessfully, not to speak of the more numerous nonparliamentary Leaguers). Matthews gives virtually all his attention to the familiar quartet of Rosebery, Asquith, Haldane, and Grey, though without substantially enlarging the accepted view. But if denied an analysis of an elite, we at least ought to have a discussion of substantial questions concerning these four. To what extent, for example, were they spokesmen for the financial interests of the City of London, as many contemporaries alleged? The issue is not even raised.

The book also fails in its promise to consider "ideological development" in any sustained way. The author was certainly obliged to devote more than scattered, half-sentence references to Haldane's neo-Hegelian view of the state. There is no discussion at all of the influence of T. H. Green's political theory on Asquith, or of the light thrown upon the Liberal-Imperial view of the world by the Liberal Leaguer Benjamin Kidd's Social Darwinism or by H. J. Mackinder's (also a Leaguer) economics of a free trade empire. The promise to discuss "ideological development," like the use of the term "elite," proves no more than a token concession to the increasing professional

reluctance to accept the bare bones of the old political history.

BERNARD SEMMEL
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BERNARD BARKER, edited and with an introduction by. *Ramsay MacDonald's Political Writings*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1972. Pp. 258. \$10.95.

Historians have often been content to dismiss British socialist thought, with the important exception of Fabianism, with the observation that it owes more to the Bible than to Karl Marx. In his introduction to these selections from the writings of Ramsay MacDonald, Bernard Barker, after a pedestrian account of the political setting of MacDonald's career, proceeds to a thoughtful examination of the reasoning by which the most prominent British socialist of the early twentieth century reached his un-Marxian conclusions. According to Barker, MacDonald's brand of "evolutionary" socialism resulted not from his admitted respect for parliamentary institutions, nor from the influence of Darwinian ideas, but from an analysis that focused on industry rather than capitalism as the agent of change in modern society. The growing productivity and increasing organization of industry were viewed by MacDonald as developments congenial to socialism, and he discerned in industrial growth a potential for an identification of class interests, in contrast to the class conflict that Marx had declared to be inherent in capitalism. Revolution would thus, in MacDonald's view, only retard the socialist future, which could be brought about by persuading all classes of the logic of transferring the industrial machine to community control. Such ideas were hardly novel, and Barker demonstrates MacDonald's dependence, sometimes through secondhand accounts, on the work of thinkers such as Owen, Spencer, Ruskin, and Hobson. However lacking in originality, MacDonald possessed, the editor maintains, the virtue of consistency in fitting theory to practice. Condescending descriptions of him as chiefly a "propagandist" illustrate this harmony, according to Barker, for socialism was for MacDonald public education.

The lengthy excerpts from MacDonald's

writings that are included in this volume, extending from *Socialism and Society* (1905) to *Socialism: Critical and Constructive* (1921), give evidence to support Barker's interpretation. They serve likewise as a concise presentation of MacDonald's socialist theory, revealing a coherence and lucidity that was not characteristic of his less formal works. The most complete and systematic collection of his views remains Benjamin Sacks's *J. Ramsay MacDonald in Thought and Action* (1952), but for the student concerned solely with the theoretical foundations of his socialism, this book provides a useful selection and an illuminating commentary.

CATHERINE ANN CLINE
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STEPHEN KOSS. *Fleet Street Radical: A. G. Gardiner and the Daily News*. [Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1973. Pp. x, 339. \$12.50.

This is a book both to praise and to criticize. Mr. Koss, in a manner always lively and often pungent, has written the most informative and readable account we have of Liberal journalism in the early years of the twentieth century, "the golden age of editors," before proprietors became press lords. A. G. Gardiner himself is treated sympathetically but with a certain detachment, with emphasis on his revival of the *Daily News* as an effective Liberal instrument, his compromises with the Cadburys (his proprietors), and his own writing as an essayist—including his "character studies," which constitute perhaps his chief claim to fame. But other editors—C. P. Scott, H. W. Massingham, J. A. Spender, and Robert Donald—and the galaxy of stars Gardiner assembled at the *Daily News* share the stage, and the result is a wide-ranging story based on Koss's diligent research, which began with the Gardiner Papers in an Oxfordshire attic and soon embraced the careers of leading political and literary figures of the day.

The title, Koss's suggestion that the *Daily News* became London's "most outspoken daily," and his remark that Gardiner was all but "the most prominent of Liberal editors," lead us, however, to expect a careful analysis of Gardiner's radicalism. In this respect the book seems to me to be undisciplined. This is apparent in bland pronouncements, such as that in

1906 "Gardiner was less impressed by the magnitude of the electoral victory than by the opportunities it presented for creative policy." It is also reflected in Koss's fascination with personalities and anecdotes (despite his own caveat against such distractions), in his doubtful asides on matters of importance ("the single-mindedness of a weekly journal of opinion"), and in certain misstatements (Campbell-Bannerman is said to have regretted "as a tactical error" his famous phrase, "methods of barbarism"—the authorities say quite the contrary).

Radicalism often seems incidental to Koss's narrative. It is scarcely mentioned, let alone explained, in the opening chapters. We are hardly prepared for the remark that with Gardiner's arrival in 1902, "for the first time in many years the *Daily News* was equipped to speak with force and clarity." And while from 1906 Gardiner was "determined to influence a rechanneling of national policy" by initiating "campaigns . . . from which he was diverted only by the outbreak of war," Koss is preoccupied with such matters as John Burns's weakness as a cabinet minister, G. K. Chesterton's departure from the *Daily News*, and Gardiner's own "tip-toeing amidst the eggshells." There is little analysis of *Daily News* policy on issues in their changing aspects. Koss is more instructive on radicalism during the war years and after, and his story of Gardiner's feud with Lloyd George is absorbing. But Koss might well have recognized that other Radicals impressed Colonel House as much as Gardiner, and reference to him as the "British Moses" for President Wilson is mere literary flourish of which other examples abound.

Still, Koss's knowledge of gentlemen of the press is extraordinary. And his book is attractive to both the specialist and the general reader. It is just that the "Fleet Street Radical" does not fully emerge.

ALFRED F. HAVIGHURST
Amherst College

A. H. HALSEY, editor. *Trends in British Society since 1900: A Guide to the Changing Social Structure of Britain*. [New York:] St. Martin's Press. 1972. Pp. xxvi, 578. \$15.95.

"The future of history," wrote R. H. Tawney forty years ago, "depends on its ability to ac-

quire a more consciously sociological outlook." In the intervening years and despite the doubts of their more conservative colleagues, some British historians have advanced toward that cooperative effort which Tawney advocated. They have been met more than halfway by a number of sociologists whose work draws heavily on Tawney's inspiration. Among them have been the late Richard Titmuss of the London School of Economics and A. H. Halsey of Nuffield College, Oxford. The latter is the editor of the volume under review, which is a collection of statistics with commentary written mainly by present and former Nuffield scholars. The book offers abundant proof of the importance of their work to social and economic historians.

Each of the sixteen chapters contains a selection of data on various subjects; for example, the labor force, schools, and crime. The tables are preceded by discussions of the limitations and implications of the statistics at hand. These appraisals make the book much more valuable to the historian than is its companion volume, *British Political Facts*, edited by David Butler.

Several of the essays provide clear and concise introductions to the concepts that guide statistical work. Of particular interest are the discussions of techniques of national income accounting by Robert Bacon, George Sayer Bain, and John Pimlott, and of judicial, criminal, and police statistics by Nigel Walker. Other essayists, such as David Butler, confidently let their statistics speak for themselves. The chapter by Kenneth MacDonald and John Ridge, in contrast, is a discussion of the inadequacy of current statistics to support "any proper statement regarding British trends in social mobility." Their careful scrutiny of the conceptual and evidential limits of sociological research is both important and refreshing. Their modesty and skepticism is in line with the caveat of John Rex, too often forgotten, that sociological definitions have rarely guided statistical compilations by official and other bodies. Of course, no historian could take exception to their emphasis on the critical examination of sources, mathematical or otherwise.

But despite the difficulties, several of the essayists use their data to support more general discussions of aspects of British social history

in this century. Of particular interest are the treatment of immigration by Juliet Cheetham, which slays many Powellite beasts; the analysis of urbanization and local government by Bruce Wood; and the account of the growth of higher education by A. H. Halsey. These three essays can stand on their own as statements of current sociological research and as evidence of how much historians can learn from it.

J. M. WINTER

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D. G. BOYCE. *Englishmen and Irish Troubles: British Public Opinion and the Making of Irish Policy, 1918-22*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1972. Pp. 253. \$10.00.

D. G. Boyce's study of English public opinion and its relation to the making of Irish policies between 1918 and 1922 is a valuable addition to the literature on the origins of present-day Ireland, both North and South. British and Irish public records, cabinet papers, the papers of editors and journalists, as well as a wide range of newspapers and periodicals, have been consulted. In a brief bibliographical essay Boyce explains his choice of materials and discusses the problems of newspaper research. His thesis, summed up in an epilogue, is that it was not military defeat in Ireland but the revolt of the British conscience that forced Lloyd George to search for a settlement with the Sinn Fein. "In the long run," Boyce writes, "Lloyd George was not sitting on a row of bayonets; if he was sitting on anything, it was upon a pile of newspapers." That C. P. Scott, H. W. Massingham, Randall Davidson, archbishop of Canterbury, and the English press, metropolitan and provincial, help to guide English opinion toward a settlement with Ireland has long been known. Never, however, has the story of English opinion been told with the thoroughness of the present account. That all this opinion was decisive, one might suggest, needs greater proof. But one must avoid pedantry here, for historians, studying any kind of decision, know the imponderables, the difficulties of giving the right weight to this or to that. Happily for students of this period in Irish history we now have volume 3 of Thomas Jones's *Whitehall Diary, Ireland, 1918-25* (1971), which was not published when Boyce's book went to press. As

cabinet secretary to Lloyd George, Jones, who knew Ireland well, played a significant role in the decisions leading to the treaty of 1921. The *Diary* takes us behind the scenes and tells us not only what the principal characters were saying, but how they gradually moved to their decisions, how they were groping, listening, thinking. That the British press was influential is probably beyond question. But in understanding the climate of feeling and opinion in which British ministers lived, one must not forget the hostility of the United States and the influence of the newly formed League of Nations, of the dominions, and of the Liberal and Labour parties. A review of *Whitehall Diary* is not in order here, but these two books can well be read together.

Boyce makes clear that if British opinion wanted a settlement and favored the dominion status that emerged, it was not prepared to go beyond that. The British were resolved that Ireland accept the symbols of crown and empire. His conclusion that anything beyond the treaty of 1921 was impossible at the time is reinforced by Jones's *Diary*. Finally, students of recent events in Northern Ireland will find much to interest them in chapter 5, which discusses Englishmen and the partition of Ireland.

HELEN F. MULVEY

Connecticut College

HENRY C. WILKINSON. *Bermuda from Sail to Steam: The History of the Island from 1784 to 1901*. In two volumes. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973. Pp. xi, 409; x, 411-951. map. \$40.00 the set.

These volumes, Wilkinson's third and fourth on the history of Bermuda, cover the years when the British Empire reached its height. Unfortunately Bermuda, a relic of the "Old Empire," was a very minor and increasingly peripheral part of the new Victorian Empire, and this rather old-fashioned narrative history, laboriously compiled with loving care from public and private records in London and Bermuda, seems to me to fail on two counts. As a history of the island and its society and their evolution over the 125 years covered, it is, despite its bulk, inadequate. The reader is buried under a stupefying amount of detail about every conceivable aspect of the life of the

island, but there is very little analysis. Governors and officials come and go, the famous visit and depart, there are hurricanes and wrecks; and the record is studied with the intense quarrels that tiny, inbred European colonial societies generated in such abundance, compelling to participants but tedious in retrospect. But Wilkinson never tells us the significance of all this is for the development of the island's social structure, particularly after the abolition of slavery added a new and complex element to Bermuda's tiny society.

As a window on wider imperial developments, these volumes are also flawed. Bermuda was on the periphery of operations in the western Atlantic and Caribbean during both the twenty-five-year struggle with France and the War of 1812. The island had a ringside seat for the American Civil War and became a center of blockade-running. Again, however, although the details are fascinating, the central fact is that Bermuda was on the periphery, and the interesting details are really footnotes to other stories. Finally, because Bermuda, like the other British islands in the Western Hemisphere, was a relic of an earlier period of British expansion, the convolutions of its politics and its relationship with London tell us little about imperial administration during these years, when the focus of attention was on India and the east, and later on Africa, where the forms of colonial government were radically different.

These volumes are a mine of information that future students of the history of Bermuda will work; and in this respect Wilkinson has performed a valuable service. Their bulk and, above all, their lack of critical analysis make it impossible to recommend these two volumes for themselves.

RAYMOND CALLAHAN
University of Delaware

PATRICK BUCKLAND. *Irish Unionism. Volume 1, The Anglo-Irish and the New Ireland, 1885-1922.* New York: Barnes and Noble. 1972. Pp. xxvii, 363. \$16.25.

PATRICK BUCKLAND. *Irish Unionism, 1885-1922.* (General Series, number 81.) London: Historical Association. 1973. Pp. 48. 36p.

The chief merit of this disappointing book lies in its use of previously untapped manuscript

and documentary sources. With these Buckland establishes that the Southern and Ulster Unionists were quite distinct politically, socially, and organizationally from the start. Unlike the geographically concentrated and socially heterogeneous Ulsterites who ultimately preferred partition to absorption into an all-Ireland government, leaders of the thinly spread and socially elite Southern Unionists, fearing by 1917 that Home Rule was inevitable and that Lloyd George and Carson would throw them to the nationalist wolves, desperately sought an all-Ireland settlement. Their chief effort toward this end was the convention of 1917-18, which failed due to the inability of the participants to agree. Moreover, the Southern die-hards rejected the earl of Midleton's movement toward a more conciliatory policy and eventually ousted him from the leadership of the Irish Unionist Alliance. The Midletonites, who generally were wealthier and more prestigious than the die-hards, then formed the Anti-Partition League and eventually played a part in bringing about the truce that led to the settlement of 1922.

Buckland's treatment of his subject suffers from a number of defects, the most pervasive of which is conceptual weakness. So intent is he on demonstrating the importance and sagacity of the Midletonite Unionists that he never comes to terms with what—on the basis of his own evidence—can only be described as ineffectiveness. Indeed, the Midletonites rarely ever failed to convert unpromising situations into full-scale disasters. Their conversion to a policy of moderation was too late to achieve anything but the breakup of their own organization, for moderate unionism, to be viable, required a viable moderate nationalism, and the intransigent opposition of the Midletonites to a settlement in July 1916, while it did not drive the final nails, certainly closed the lid on the coffin of John Redmond's Irish parliamentary party and removed any serious part in the final settlement from the hands of both groups. The failure of the Midletonites and, with less excuse, Buckland to recognize this relationship leaves both flailing about in a myopic never never land, wondering why nothing ever seemed to work out properly. The book can also be faulted for its lack of chronological balance, its failure to offer an explanation for the

cleavage between Northern and Southern Unionists, pedestrian writing, and occasionally muddled presentation. Specialists will nonetheless find much valuable information in this work, which Buckland has followed with a volume on *The Northern Experience*. The accompanying pamphlet, which contains a bibliography, is a useful survey of Northern and Southern Unionism.

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ROGER BERG *et al.* *Histoire des Juifs en France*. Edited by BERNHARD BLUMENKRANZ. ("Collection Franco-Judaïca," number 1.) [Toulouse:] Edouard Privat, Éditeur. 1972. Pp. 478. Cloth 90 fr., paper 80 fr.

Shortly after the Second World War, Robert Anchel, then *doyen* of French Jewish history because of his impressive *Napoléon et les Juifs* (1928) and his no less impressive career as an archivist, felt that a credible history of Jews in France could not be written (*Les Juifs de France* [1946]). Dominated by tendencies that often seem inconsistent and contradictory, French Jewish history, Anchel argued, lacks a unifying theme. Recently, however, Roger Berg and others cooperated in writing a scholarly *Histoire des Juifs en France* under the able editorial direction of Bernhard Blumenkranz, a respected medievalist and bibliographer.

Stressing the social dynamics of French Jewish history, the authors earnestly sought to soften the dominant theme of modern Jewish history (the holocaust) and to focus on demographic tendencies—especially on ways in which the French Jewish community has responded to historical changes. Nonetheless, in an implied way their *Histoire* seems to have been written in an effort to answer anti-Semitic attacks upon French Jews as well as to help provide French Jews with a sense of their own historical identity. These implications, in part at least, seem apparent in the conclusions that the authors themselves have reached. They conclude, first of all, that Jews have almost continuously lived in France since the first century—only Israel, Greece, and Italy have Jewish populations with a longer history. Based upon archeological evidence for the first four centuries, supported by written records from the end of the fourth century, this conclu-

sion rebuts the charge that Jews are an alien people in France, while providing French Jews with an understanding of their own deep roots in French history. The second conclusion is that almost from their origins the Jews revealed an inclination and ability to assimilate. Latin and French—not Hebrew—were the dominant languages Jews used during the Middle Ages. For instance, Rashi, the great eleventh-century Jewish scholar, wrote most of his commentaries in French, as there were few Jews (even learned Jews) who had mastered Hebrew. By implication, then, the authors are answering the charge that French Jews cannot participate harmoniously within French society; and they are answering the argument that Jews are not really French because they "don't fully comprehend Racine" (a popular charge of anti-Semitic writers, many of whom preferred the classical culture of the age of Louis XIV to their own culture). The conclusion further suggests that the assimilation of French Jews did not begin with the Jewish enlightenment (the *Haskallah*) or even with the emancipation decree of September 27, 1791, however dramatic these episodes in Jewish history, but seemed rather to be characteristic of much of their long history. The third conclusion is that French Jews were not limited to the world of business and finance, as Marxist and other critics often maintain, but that they engaged in many economic roles. If a high proportion of Jews has been active in business (as in Alsace, where many were peddlers), it was largely because as a minority sect they were forced to play economic roles that the majority of society frowned upon but that Jews could not avoid—simply because they lacked real power. (At no stage of their history did they consist of more than one per cent of the total population.) By default, then, they were driven into unpopular roles, while many of the more accepted roles were denied them. In this way the authors have shattered one of the more lingering stereotypes of Jews.

The authors' fourth conclusion is that while Jews were harassed during their early history in France, systematic persecution of French Jews did not begin until the First Crusade of the late eleventh century, which led ultimately to their legal expulsion under Philip the Fair (1306). Thus by implication Jews are not inher-

ently creatures of persecution, justifying the assumption that they are a cursed people—and hence further persecution. Not only that. The fact that there are credible historical explanations underlying the persecution of French Jews shatters theories of bitter historical determinism based upon the myth that they are a fallen people. The fifth conclusion is that French Jews are not a monolithic community but have divided on many issues. One of the most persistent has been the nature of their commitment to Judaism. Is it essentially religious or cultural (that is, secular)? Symbolized in the *Menorah* (the candelabrum lighted during the festival of Hanukkah), commemorating the destruction of the Temple (with religious implications) as well as the fall of Jerusalem, the capital of the Jewish homeland (with secular implications), much of Jewish history seems to have both religious and cultural significance. French Jews have also disagreed on the nature of the commitment to Jews living outside of France. Thus the Alliance Israélite, which was created in 1860 to aid less fortunate Jews, received scanty support from the French Jewish community, which was itself beginning to suffer from internal pressures that culminated in the disastrous Dreyfus Affair; thus French Jews, who largely rejected Zionism, divided over Israel's Six-Day War with the United Arab Republic. (See, for instance, Léon Poliakov, *De l'antisémitisme à l'antisémisme* [1969], 153–67.) The sixth conclusion is that although there never was an integral French Jewish community and although French Jews frequently have divided over many issues (political as well as religious), they have demonstrated the ability to accommodate values compatible both with Jewish and French traditions, contributing greatly to the history of France and to its culture. During moments of crisis (like the Franco-Prussian War and the First and Second World Wars) Jews have rallied around the French flag. Thus French Jews are not traitorous and have remained loyal to France, despite their dual allegiance, which has been less apparent perhaps in France than in many Western nations. The seventh conclusion is that even Jewish intellectuals who broke away from and retained few ties with the Jewish community (like Claude Lévy Strauss, Victor Basch, and Raymond

Aron, to name but a few examples) have not denied their Jewish origins—though at times they have suggested its irrelevance. The final conclusion the authors reach is that the tragedy of modern French Jewish history is not an indictment of emancipation that reveals the poverty of assimilation. It suggests, rather, how truly fragile is freedom.

A thoughtful and scholarly introduction to French Jewish history, *Histoire des Juifs en France* is a significant contribution to Jewish historiography. It is hoped that it will soon be published in an English translation.

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RICHARD GASCON. *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVI^e siècle: Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520—environs de 1580)*. In two volumes. (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Civilisation et sociétés 22.) Paris: Mouton. 1971. Pp. 450; 460–999. 130 fr. the set.

As a great commercial and financial center and site for the manufacture and export of books and silk, sixteenth-century Lyon has had its historians, most notably the late Roger Doucet. Now, in a masterful piece of research and synthesis, Richard Gascon has provided a new picture, showing the merchants in relation to the city and Lyon trade and credit operations in relation to the region and to Europe as a whole. In the absence of local business archives, such as those that form the basis for Raymond de Roover's study of the Medici bank and Henri Lapeyre's work on the Ruiz firm, M. Gascon has made ingenious use of a variety of public archival materials explored by him and his students: records of import duties, sales taxes, and inspection and exit fees; assessments of wealth and property; minutes of the city council; notarial contracts, where merchants spelled out many of their activities; and the accounts of the new municipal charity. The result is the most ambitious and successful effort to date to present the quantitative history of the economy of a major sixteenth-century city, surpassing, for instance, Herman Van der Wee's examination of Antwerp in the range of data charted and

mapped and in the range of variables used to explain economic change.

By the 1550s, some ninety years after the establishment of its four annual fairs, Lyon had become the commercial and financial capital of France. Up to that time, too, M. Gascon argues that banking activity was not so much tied to speculation and political loans as to trade, providing credit and efficient, regular means of payment for the fairs. Textiles predominated in that trade, with spices, metal and metal products, books, and leather following after. M. Gascon's mapping of the origin and destination of these products is instructive. France was the market for the spices, most of them from the Levant, and for the silks, both those from the new looms of Lyon and the fine-patterned silks of Italy. On the other hand, Lyon was the redistribution point for French woolens to Italy and Germany and for French industry, not only that of the older cloth centers in Picardy, Normandy, and the Languedoc, but also the newer manufacture of linen in the rural Lyonnais, Forez, and Beaujolais and of nails and other metal products in little towns west of Lyon. In the latter case, M. Gascon suggests, we see the establishment of traditions of manufacture that prepare the way for industrial expansion in the same region in the nineteenth century.

As in Antwerp and Seville, the direction of large-scale commercial enterprise and a significant percentage of its profits were in the hands of foreigners, especially Italians, with their big reserves of capital and advanced business techniques and organization. M. Gascon documents this concentration and then asks how assimilated were the Italian merchant-bankers into Lyon life. Though there were individual examples of intermarriage between foreign and French families, of naturalization, and of full participation in the political activity of the city or the kingdom, he concludes that the more typical case is that of the powerful Bonvisi of Lucca. Established at Lyon for generations, their closest ties remained with other Italian residents and with branches of the family firm in Lucca and throughout Europe. Thus, Lyon can be seen both as a commercial capital and as a "colony," its temporary prosperity based simultaneously on durable economic structures (its

industry and regional trade) and on its integration into and its dependence on an international economy controlled by Italian merchant capital. This important insight is one that should be followed up in the archives of the great trading companies, conserved in Italy and little used in this study.

The wealthy French merchants of Lyon, whether native or immigrants, made up a secondary elite, with a predominant role in the trade in French products, such as cloth; a minor role in the importation of spices; and a significant role in the manufacture of books and silk. M. Gascon goes on to consider the consequences of commercial expansion for the artisans and the poor and for the political institutions of the city. Whereas in the fifteenth century the latter had been under the control of notaries and doctors of law, many of whom also provided legal services for the Church of Lyon—what René Fédou has called the "*république des clercs*"—in the sixteenth century, says M. Gascon, power passes to the merchants. Despite challenges from the lawyers and from agents of the Church and of royal authority, despite the occasional need to change urban tax policy to satisfy the *menu peuple*, the "*république des marchands*" maintained its force so long as commercial prosperity lasted.

The decline in that prosperity had several causes. Contemporaries put the blame on the "troubles" of the 1560s: the occupation of the city by the Huguenots, which disrupted the fairs and the sensitive system of payments; the decimating plague of 1564; and later the immigration of some Protestant merchants to Switzerland. If the Religious Wars encouraged the manufacture and sales of arms in Lyon, they also disturbed trade routes. More important were the effects from the 1560s of the long-term inflation and monetary chaos. The switch of capital from commerce to financial speculation, already encouraged by royal needs for loans, finally reached a pitch, which makes quite understandable the complaints of moralists about illicit practices. M. Gascon charts the decline of commercial profits in the 1560s and of banking profits in the late 1570s. All of this underscores the importance of his argument about the structural weakness of the Lyon economy: since it was based on the Eu-

ropean connections and entrepreneurship of its Italian merchants, their decline spelled Lyon's decline.

The consequences of contraction were everywhere apparent: in the return of lawyers and royal officers to power in city government; in the increase in the purchase of rural properties, already part of the merchant's fortune as a source of food and prestige, but now, with the spread of sharecropping, as a source of profit. Especially interesting is the shift in the policies of the Lyon merchants from a cosmopolitan commercial liberalism to an anti-Italian national protectionism. So long as the monopoly of their own fairs was guaranteed the Lyon merchants insisted upon exemptions from taxation for the foreign merchants and their merchandise, even when this meant that they and their fellow citizens would have to foot the bill for the king's increasing fiscal demands. With the onset of hard times the Lyon notables began to demand that the foreign residents pay taxes like everybody else, that their settling of accounts at the fairs be conducted in the presence of city councillors and French merchants, and that they not be permitted to encroach on the regional trade operations of the French. While continuing to push for the elimination of the tolls within France, the Lyon drapers now pressed for the prohibition of the sale of foreign cloth in the kingdom. If sixteenth-century Lyon resembles sixteenth-century Antwerp in the character of its economic prosperity, its partial revival in the seventeenth century would not involve the commercial liberalism of seventeenth-century Amsterdam.

Grand commerce et vie urbaine is like a great fair in its profusion of data and interpretive ideas. Readers will proceed with some wariness, however, occasionally wishing its author had been more sparing, holding back the inflation of names and examples. The problem is that the book wobbles in intention between a broad study of commercial life and merchants in an economic center—something belonging to the genre of Philippe Wolff's *Commerce et marchands de Toulouse* (1954) and C. Carrère's *Barcelone, centre économique* (1967)—and an overall urban study, the *histoire totale* of a town, as in Pierre Deyon's *Amiens, capitale provinciale* (1967)

and B. Bennassar's *Valladolid* (1967). The first it does superbly, with coherence and originality. For the second, the necessary range of data and conceptual tools are lacking. Thus, while M. Gascon provides data about the artisans and the poor (lists of occupations, wages in the building trades, wheat prices, etc.), which will be useful to specialists, the *menu peuple* are presented primarily as objects of concern or fear for the merchants.

Even in regard to the merchants the portrait falls short. M. Gascon claims, for instance, on the basis of six inventories, that merchants rarely owned books and had little role in artistic or literary patronage. Though merchants were clearly less learned than lawyers, the work of Christian Bec and Jean Jeanin on merchants and culture and A. Labarre's information on patterns of book ownership in a secondary center like Amiens make us wonder whether the intellectual horizons of Lyon's elite could be so limited. And indeed literary sources reveal, for instance, a circle of Italian scholars meeting at the house of the Luccese banking partners, Michaeli and Arnolfini, in 1561; Jean Darut (one of M. Gascon's most interesting entrepreneurs) patronizing the musician Philibert Jambe de Fer; and merchant-publishers with literary connections or who, like Guillaume Rouillé, were scholars in their own right. Furthermore, the royal entry celebrations, so important to the cultural life of the sixteenth century, were the product of the patronage of the city council, that is, of the *république des marchands*.

So too with the religious life of the merchants. M. Gascon's narrative of the Reformation shows very well the commercial consequences of religious conflict, but never comes to grips with the meaning of that conflict for its actors. The assumptions of the book make it hard to understand why men with common economic interests might disagree about sacraments. Interestingly enough, M. Gascon insists several times on the staunch Catholic loyalties of the Italian merchants. In fact, Lyon's group of Italian Protestants in the early sixties rivaled that of Geneva, with Luccese and Genoese merchants especially prominent within it. A source of rich Catholic sensibility, of strong commitment to Calvinism, and of interest in the heretical ideas of Gentili and Sozzini, the

Italian merchant community at Lyon was not monolithic.

Nor was the community of wealthy French merchants monolithic either. M. Gascon has stressed the tension between lawyers and merchants during the decades of expansion. Much of the time, however, the merchants ruled with the aid of the lawyers and royal officers, who were their brothers, sons, or in-laws, and who continued to serve as consuls and attend meetings. The greater role of men of law in the late part of the century is matched in importance by the absence of the significant group of Protestant entrepreneurs. The split among merchants on religious matters was as serious as that between merchants and lawyers. In accord on many issues concerning the economy, Protestants and Catholics disagreed about what sacred resources were available for human life, about the boundaries between the laity and the clergy, about some of the means of social control, and about the nature of community. The range of experience described in *Lyon et ses marchands* does bear upon these differences and the curve of religious change, but they cannot be explained solely by economic structures and the movements of prices and profits.

As a study in depth of an important place and moment in the development of commercial capitalism, of its paradoxes and impact on urban life, however, M. Gascon's book is excellent. All students of the society of the *ancien régime* will want to read it.

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WILLIAM F. CHURCH. *Richelieu and Reason of State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1972. Pp. 554. \$20.00.

Historians are already indebted to William F. Church for his magisterial study of sixteenth-century constitutional thought in France culminating in divine right absolutism. Now he has added a thoroughly researched, provocative sequel on the fusion of divine right with "reason of state" during Richelieu's ministry of 1624-42. Others have written about or touched on that theme, but not even the giants—Meinecke, Albertini, Thuau, and Dick-

mann—have come fully to grips with the relationship between pragmatic state interest and the age's overriding religious-moral standards or with the connection between the theory of reason of state and the historical political context. Professor Church has surpassed these scholars in boldly stating that Richelieu and his contemporaries combined religion, political thought, and day-to-day actions.

The late sixteenth-century's religious wars, reaction to Machiavelli, and assimilation of ancient pagan political writings had already established a broad spectrum of views ranging from the subordination of politics to religion, through the coordination of Church and state, to the justification of secular acts as being acceptable for a Christian ruler. Under the impact of Richelieu's war with fellow Catholics of Spain and his resulting attacks on French subjects' privileges and rebelliousness, these views became more sharply exchanged and more thoroughly elaborated. Church shows how anti-Richelieu and pro-Richelieu pamphleteers, formal political treatises, and official histories, as well as the *Testament Politique*, *Mémoires*, *Gazette*, and *Mercure François*, which were associated with the cardinal, grappled with these questions: Was the war an affront to Catholicism and religion or a just, moral conflict; was the eroding of subjects' powers an act of tyranny or a necessary and good statist activity?

While the reader can best examine for himself the author's treatment of individual writings, I was struck by the inability of Richelieu's contemporaries to reconcile religion and politics in a genuine synthesis, despite all their nuances of interpretation. It is particularly frustrating to read that Richelieu was sincerely religious, grounding his politics in religion and legality as well as practical considerations, for one still wants to know how precisely he and his supporters were "religious" in their politics. We already know that religion and politics were "connected" during the early seventeenth century, and yet none of the arguments by contemporaries or suggestions by Professor Church quite go beyond showing a connection. (For example, pamphleteers were themselves religious in training or profession; Louis XIII and Richelieu were motivated by God-given wisdom or a strong

sense of justice; their state was "Christian"; they sought "peace" through war.) And while the author candidly notes the dangers in Richelieu's tendency toward justifying a state morality separate from and unfettered by the morality of ordinary individuals, it seems debatable to stop that line of reasoning, as Church does, short of placing the cardinal in the forefront of those who, unconsciously or not, helped divorce politics from religion and morality. On a more philosophical plane, the meaning of the word "state" itself in "reason of state" presents problems. If the state is "monarchical government" (p. 36) or some abstraction like the *patrie* (p. 21), one wonders whether "it" can possibly act for the "common good" or an absolute morality rather than merely for those in power under the guise of a nebulous abstraction. And if, as Church so aptly states toward the end of his book, Richelieu viewed the state as a hierarchy of orders with its purpose being to provide order and satisfaction for each group in its allotted station, it is equally difficult to find a general "good."

Despite, and in part because of, the difficulties of reconciling reason of state with actual early modern states, their society, and their religion, Professor Church is to be commended for his thoughtful, penetrating study. He is fair to the anti-Richelieu pamphleteers, like Mathieu de Morgues and Jansenius, and critical, when it is appropriate, of Richelieu and such supporting writers as Fancan, Le Bret, Hay du Chastelet, and Balzac. Church's fairness is also evident in his superb articulation of the rival values of Richelieu's noble, juridical, and clerical opponents, and in his balanced assessment of Richelieu's flirtation with internal policies involving dubious morality. We look forward to Church's further work on one of those policies, that of broadening crimes of *lèse-majesté*.

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JEFFREY KAPLOW. *The Names of Kings: The Parisian Laboring Poor in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Basic Books. 1972. Pp. xiv, 222. \$7.95.

Jeffrey Kaplow has taken his title from the

poem by Bertolt Brecht that begins: "Who built the seven gates of Thebes?/ The books are filled with the names of kings./ Was it kings who hauled the craggy blocks of stone?" His subject is the laboring poor, those who did the actual hauling of stone in eighteenth-century Paris. They included skilled workers of the traditional crafts (journeymen and apprentices, but not the master artisans); unskilled and semiskilled laborers, largely unorganized and unprotected (porters, market workers, bargemen, and stevedores); domestic servants in their bewildering variety; street peddlers, most of whom carried their shops on their backs while shouting such wares as secondhand clothing and leftovers from the tables of the rich; and, at the very bottom, beggars and criminals, whether amateur, from occasional or immediate need, or professional. Together they made up roughly half of Paris's seven hundred thousand people. One hundred thousand of them were seasonal migrants from the provinces, uprooted, feared by the rest. Many of them, among the peddlers and domestic servants especially, were women.

The book before us is very largely descriptive, and of interest and value because of the wealth of detail Kaplow has assembled out of a wide variety of eighteenth-century sources, printed and archival, and the works of recent specialists. He discusses hours and wages (the latter so low that the wives and children had to work for the family to survive); the working-class family, male oriented and generally stable, despite the pressures of poverty upon it; the housing of the poor, their diet, their diseases, which were directly connected with the harsh conditions under which they lived and worked, and their life-expectancy. He describes the institutions with which they came into contact—the public hospitals, charities and charity schools, the army and militia, the police and the courts—through which society sought to socialize them to an acceptance of its dominant values, and their attitudes toward these institutions, their betters, and themselves. In a chapter on their religious beliefs he stresses the strength and traditionalist character of their Catholicism, points to the role of sermons in persuading the poor to accept their poverty, and speculates on the failure of the miracle-working Jansenism of the 1730s to be-

come the central element of political consciousness of the poor.

The development of their political consciousness is the author's special concern, as he explains at the start. "My purpose has been to understand how and why the Parisian masses were led to take so active a part in the essentially bourgeois French Revolution, as historians like Lefebvre, Soboul, Rudé, and Cobb, among others, have shown them to have done. . . . The question I started with was: How and why did the laboring poor develop a political consciousness in the course of the 18th century?" (pp. xi-xii). What is his answer? That they did not become politically conscious until the time of the Revolution itself and under its impact. Till then they were prepolitical. They were, indeed, in some respects outsiders. They rejected the bourgeois values of work, thrift, and sobriety. They sympathized with the condemned in public executions and made heroes of daring criminals like Cartouche. Their desire to avoid the hospital and their refusal to accept charity reflected their withdrawal from the cadres of a society that they despised. Although not a class, they were already a community aware of their difference from more fortunate men and acquiring some sense of themselves as a separate group of bottom dogs. But—and this is much more important—they "accepted the basic justice of the society in which they lived and never thought of offering it any essential challenge" (p. 109). Though their language was violent and pungent they were rarely violent in action, and when they dabbled as amateurs in crime they rarely did physical harm to their victim. They repressed their hatred for the institutions that controlled them until it became impossible for them to react to oppression at all. They looked to the king as their protector and to the parlements. Raised in a "culture of poverty" they had strong feelings of fatalism, helplessness, dependence, and inferiority. They therefore could not develop self-esteem and class consciousness, and engage in political action. Hunger alone is not enough to create revolutionaries, as eighteenth-century riots had repeatedly shown. When the Revolution came it was the class-conscious bourgeoisie, not the poor, who made it, although the poor lent their support. They had contact with the revolutionary bour-

geoisie through the master artisans, so prominent among the sans-culottes. From them they acquired the hope that it was possible, not to say legitimate, to challenge the social order. Jolted out of their lethargy, psychologically liberated, the laboring poor, or at least certain elements in it, began to pursue a program of their own.

A good book; sympathetic to the laboring poor; too ready to assume the worst of the charity and the religion of the rich; but stimulating, well-organized, and more consistent in its analysis than might appear at first glance. A handsome piece of bookmaking, as well, with ten pages of informative plates. There are forty pages of references.

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MICHEL ANTOINE. *Le Conseil royal des Finances au XVIII^e siècle et le registre E 3659 des Archives nationales*. (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartres, 21.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1973. Pp. lxxiii, 285.

This small but valuable volume is a companion piece to Michel Antoine's much more comprehensive work, *Le Conseil du roi sous le règne de Louis XV* (1970) (*AHR*, 76 [1971]: 786). Both are the fruit of Antoine's many years as *conservateur* at the Archives Nationales and bear the mark of his characteristic thoroughness. In fact the present volume is an excellent example of what can be done when a single source is studied extensively in its historical context. The register E 3659 is a massive manuscript volume, the sole survivor of a series of more than forty, and contains the records of the matters that were discussed in the *Conseil royal des finances* during the year 1736. Since that year was relatively quiet, the affairs that the council entertained may be regarded as its "normal" concerns. By analyzing this record from various standpoints and with the aid of many other sources, Antoine has produced the best available analysis of the functioning of this council and its place in the French bureaucracy.

The bulk of Antoine's book consists of summaries of the 151 matters that came before the *Conseil royal des finances* in 1736. These were

preponderantly local administrative and contentious problems concerning a host of fiscal issues: taxation in all its complexities, feudal rights to lands, rivers, and forests (the latter being especially important), the price of salt in various areas, the prerogatives of guilds and other groups, the application of royal ordinances to specific cases, petitions from local estates and parlements, and even the clash of rights when attempts were made to restore a deserted village in Lorraine. Antoine correctly claims that the arguments that were set forth concerning these matters graphically reveal the functioning and complexities of eighteenth-century society and the very mind of the Old Regime.

More valuable to historians of French institutions is Antoine's analysis of the place of the *Conseil royal des finances* in the functioning of the French bureaucracy. The controller general presented all matters to the council after they had been prepared under his supervision or that of an intendant of finance. Decisions were reached in the presence of the king, and the resulting decrees (*arrêts*) were binding as applications of royal authority, the council having none in its own right. Thus the fiction of royal approval of all acts of government was preserved. However, the controller general and the intendants of finance presided over a vast bureaucracy that was coterminous with the realm and expedited innumerable matters without recourse to the council. Antoine shows that of the 2,638 financial decrees that were issued in 1736, only 151 emanated from the council. The great majority were therefore the work of officials, chiefly the intendants of finance, who operated independently without supervision by king or council, even though their decrees derived their validity from royal authorization. The potentialities for administrative tyranny in this situation are obvious and were not lost on contemporaries, who first directed their strictures against bureaucratic irresponsibility and ultimately the monarchy itself. In this way Antoine shows that the limitations of the *Conseil royal des finances* facilitated the burgeoning of the bureaucratic system, which, by arrogating to itself a competence independent of the Crown, ultimately undermined the monarchy that it was designed to serve. In this respect the value of Antoine's

book extends considerably beyond the confines of his specific subject.

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TOM KEMP. *Economic Forces in French History: An Essay on the Development of the French Economy, 1760-1914*. London: Dennis Dobson. 1971. Pp. 316. Sch. 70.

Historians of eighteenth-century France have long debated the nature of the Revolution of 1789. The essential question is: Was it or was it not bourgeois? Much of the controversy is based on a failure to understand certain basic concepts, like feudalism and capitalism, and a tendency to think in stereotypes of nobles against bourgeois, as though classes were fixed, immobile entities, two rows of toy soldiers facing each other until one knocks the other down. Another reason is that historians are, in general, badly trained in economics. As a corrective to these errors, Mr. Kemp's sensible book is very valuable.

The eighteenth-century French economy was still feudal, but it contained strong elements of capitalist development. Like many concrete social formations, it contained manifestations of two modes of production. What made it feudal were the relations of production between lords (property owners) and peasants, and, in addition, the way in which wealth was used, that is, for consumption rather than accumulation or production. The nobles defended this way of life, its economics, its ideology, and its style, while denouncing the spread of bourgeois individualism. This does not mean that they did not sometimes act as bourgeois in the kind of investments they made or in the politics they pursued. On the other hand, the bourgeois were for the most part engaged in finance or commerce or officeholding within the framework of the Old Regime, rather than attempting to break out of it. Many of them were bought off, allowed to rise out of their class, as they acquired wealth and gained access to prestigious functions. This did not stop the bourgeoisie as a class from raising the cry for a career open to talents and for total reformation of the institutional framework of the realm. These few facts demonstrate how essential it is to think in terms of contradictions, not only between classes, but also between an individual

and the class to which he belongs, as well as in the behavior and Weltanschauung of the individual himself.

The concept of the bourgeois revolution—about which Mr. Kemp might have said more—is justified not by the social origins or role of the leading actors, but by the revolution's place in the scheme of things, that is, by the changes it accomplished in promoting the creation of a specific kind of capitalist social formation (capitalist and bourgeois not being synonymous in all eras of history). The French Revolution of 1789 was an incomplete bourgeois revolution for which the relative backwardness of the bourgeoisie itself was responsible. Legal and institutional structures were altered irreversibly, if not totally, and power was taken from the monarchy and the nobility. But the emergence of a property-owning small peasantry was a break on capital accumulation, the national market, and a mobile labor supply, and the fear of the urban masses led to a return to antidemocratic political structures that, in turn, conditioned the entire situation of the French economy and society throughout the nineteenth century.

Carrying his analysis into the modern period Mr. Kemp raises many doubts about the traditional clichés of French economic history. He follows Marx's analysis of Louis Napoleon given in *The Eighteenth Brumaire* (1852) as affording the now adolescent industrial bourgeoisie the security and protection it needed in order to carry out economic development. If that development was less rapid than in other countries, it was not so much because of a lack of entrepreneurial genius or initiative, as certain authors of the Harvard school would have it, as to the inherited institutional apparatus whose weight could not be wholly counterbalanced, even by a state committed to the growth of capitalist enterprise. This said, it is clear that the usual picture of French capitalism at the end of the nineteenth century has been overdrawn in a negative sense. For Kemp, it is wrong to compare the French economy to one of the "young giants"—Germany and the United States—just then flexing their muscles for the first time. Growth was greater, especially in certain key industrial sectors, than has usually been supposed. For the areas in which it did exist, Kemp examines the reasons usually

invoked to explain backwardness. He is very good on demographic questions and Malthusian attitudes and on problems like the role of foreign investments and imperialist expansion (as we might expect from the author of a good book on *Theories of Imperialism*). Most important, he shows that the fact that only certain sectors of the economy profited, in terms of the balance sheet, from imperialism is no reason to reject the Marxist thesis of imperialism as the result of an inner dynamic of capitalist development. Finally when Kemp writes that there is no single root cause for the performance of the French economy in the period ending in 1914, it is not in order to escape from committing himself. On the contrary he argues that nothing is comprehensible except in terms of a social structure that was, in this case, terribly complex. To invoke the "lack of will to make necessary changes," without tying it to "social reasons bound up with the old structures themselves," is nonsense. By reaffirming this very simple proposition—but one too much neglected by present-day econometricians—Mr. Kemp has done a significant service.

The Marxist analysis contained in this book is done with skill and care. Far from engaging in a limited and fruitless economic determinism, Kemp gives us a rounded picture of the complexities of class at all levels of human action, including the ideological. Men are seen here to be making their own history, with all the problems and contradictions that entails. There are lacunae in this book, most of them inevitable in the present state of our knowledge. Unlike English scholars, the French have until recent years neglected this field of their national history. As both a summary of what we have learned thus far and a sophisticated attempt at interpretation, this is a very good book. If the style is less than brilliant, the arguments are set forth clearly enough, and it should find a well-deserved place in the library of those interested in things French.

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PHILIP DAWSON. *Provincial Magistrates and Revolutionary Politics in France, 1789-1795*. (Harvard Historical Monographs, 66.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1972. Pp. x, 424. \$15.00.

The 2,700 magistrates of the bailliage courts, the intermediate level of the royal judiciary under the *ancien régime*, are the subject of Professor Dawson's detailed and exhaustive study. Dawson has supplied some statistics for this geographically dispersed group—he estimates that six per cent of the former magistrates emigrated and less than one-half of one per cent were executed—but he has concentrated on the 221 magistrates from Burgundy and Poitou. Although the bailliage courts ranked judicially just below the parlements, they lacked their glamour and controversy; while the parlements became the cutting edge of aristocratic resurgence and defiance of Louis XV and Louis XVI, the bailliaiges remained essentially local courts subordinate both judicially and socially to the parlements and more than a little envious of them. In contrast to the eighty per cent of the members of parlement who were nobles before becoming magistrates, "more than 90 percent of the members of the bailliaiges were commoners, and few had prospects of ennoblement" (p. 341). The parlements resisted any changes in their position or alterations in the judicial system, but many bailliage magistrates recognized the inequities of the *ancien régime* and welcomed, or at least passively accepted, the massive reordering of the judiciary carried out in 1790.

The heart of Dawson's book deals with the rapid political changes brought about by the Revolution, particularly the period from early 1788 to late 1790, and the resultant pressures on the bailliage magistrates. Because of their social and political prominence and because they played an important role in the electoral assemblies, it is not surprising that 127, or more than twenty per cent, of the Third Estate deputies in 1789 were bailliage magistrates. Their experience on the bench enabled them to exert quiet leadership in the "revolutionary achievement" of creating a national legislature. "It was of outstanding importance in the achievements of the National Assembly that many of these magistrates lent silent but steady support to revolutionary change" (p. 240). The National Assembly changed France's judicial system by confiscating judicial positions that formerly were purchased and replaced them with elected magistrates. Compensated by the state for their loss of revenue, the bailliage

magistrates were encouraged to invest in newly nationalized land. There was some resistance initially, but the "irrevocability of the judicial reform and the desire to reinvest the capital sums that were involved" (p. 261) persuaded many magistrates to go along, and Dawson regards this maneuver, on balance, as a success.

The 2,700 individual bailliage magistrates formed essentially a corporate body that was disinclined to initiate radical change and yet receptive to arguments calling for individual sacrifices. Dawson emphasizes the contrasting responses of the two primary judicial bodies: "The members of parlements became, in general, counterrevolutionaries. The members of the bailliaiges, in general, supported reform and accepted, at least by declining to oppose, a republican revolution" (p. 340). Rejecting other explanations, including Cobban's that the bailliage magistrates in 1789 were declining both socially and economically, Dawson finds the basic difference to be a fairly simple one—the divergence in "class membership and allegiance" (p. 341). This book is long overdue, well written, and a significant contribution to our knowledge of the *haute bourgeoisie*.

THOMAS F. SHEPPARD
Tours, France

DAVID HIGGS. *Ultraroyalism in Toulouse: From Its Origins to the Revolution of 1830*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Ninetieth Series (1972), number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1973. Pp. ix, 223. \$12.50.

David Higgs has undertaken the difficult task of studying the political outlook and behavior of the dominant ultraroyalist elite in the Toulouse region over the revolutionary watershed. Five of eight chapters in this monograph of under two hundred pages focus on the two Restorations, two treat the Old Regime and the Revolution, and a brief postlude turns to the centers of legitimist action during the July Monarchy.

The paternity of this book is as noble as its subject. The late Alfred Cobban, Higgs's major advisor, is visible, among other ways, in the author's concern with "the permanent elements in the French social pattern"; Robert Forster's deep and sympathetic understanding of the

country-town life of the Toulousain nobility—"robe, sword and *cloche*"—established a base for the present study; and Professor Godechot, whose published lectures on the counterrevolution broke ground in proposing an examination of ultraroyalism in its various regional settings, guided the author in the use of local archives. Representatives of both the Villèle and Beaumont families offered access to their historical records.

The research presented here confirms at the level of one region the hypothesis that the authority of the landowning class remained fundamentally unshaken by revolutionary programs, administrative reorganizations, and military conquests. To be sure, the Toulousain was not prototypical, yet how unrepresentative it was is difficult to say in the present underdeveloped state of local and regional studies with a comparable time span. Higgs's manuscript was evidently completed before the appearance of Maurice Agulhon's three-volume *thèse de doctorat* on Toulon and its hinterland, a region whose movement from ultraroyalism to republicanism by 1848 suggests some useful contrasts (reviewed in *AHR*, 77 [1972]: 156–57).

Although Higgs has little to say about Toulouse after 1830, his prior argument indicates why Toulouse remained a center of legitimism under the July Monarchy. As site of the second largest parlement in the kingdom, Toulouse had already been, under the Old Regime, a center of resistance to centralizing government. Its landowners enjoyed a certain solidarity of interest. They bore their tax burden rather equitably and were thus free of the divisions between nobles and non-nobles bred elsewhere by discriminatory exemptions based on noble birth. The typical peasant was a dependent sharecropper or wage laborer, regarding the landowner as a natural "social authority." Less than a quarter of the land in the mid-eighteenth century was owned by the peasantry, and this portion was so divided that its production remained at subsistence levels. Toulouse itself was in the control of the landowning elite, mostly noble. They exercised their control through property ownership, governmental office, and clerical administration of hospitals and charity. No important industry offered an independent base of power. The largest employers were the state monopolies, and the typ-

ical independent workshops and businesses were very small in size.

Retention of power by the landed aristocracy was made possible by their physical presence during the revolutionary years (the rate of their emigration was relatively low, and by the end of the Directory most of those who had left were back on their estates); by the very small impact on the Church and the nobility made by the sale of their property during the revolutionary period (the Haute-Garonne was almost at the bottom of the departmental list of acquirers of *biens nationaux*); and presumably by the successful intermarriages that created an infrastructure of robe, sword, and clerical elites for which a carpetbag civil service apparatus and parvenu local influences were no match.

This useful work is blander than it ought to be, largely because it sidesteps areas of controversy in both the historical literature and social theory. Although Higgs finds the allegedly violent temperament in Toulouse less real than rhetorical—"much less so than some historians of violence have pictured it"—and the purge of 1815–16 more a "shake-up" than anything else, the principals in the two disputes (among them Richard Cobb and myself) are not identified, and the evidence supporting conflicting views lies unsifted. With respect to theory, the typologies for "counterrevolution" before 1815 offered by Jacques Godechot and Paul Beik are not discussed in the text, and theory is treated generally more in its dimension as ideology than as explanatory hypothesis. Regional studies, however, are the essential building blocks in our reconstruction of social change in France, and this study is a helpful contribution to that effort.

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CLAUDE BELLANGER *et al.*, editors. *Histoire générale de la presse française*. Volume 3, *De 1871 à 1940*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1972. Pp. 687.

This is the third volume to appear of a projected four-volume collaborative work, which when completed will narrate the history of the press in France from its beginnings in the fifteenth century down to the present. Four authors, although their names do not appear as

such on the title page, have contributed to the present volume, which covers the years of the Third Republic. Pierre Albert, a *maître-assistant* at the University of Paris, has prepared at least two-thirds of this large volume, by far the most interesting portion for the general historian. Fernand Terrou, professor at the Institut des Études Politiques and also director of the Institut Français de Presse, has contributed a legal study on the jurisprudence governing the freedom of the press since adoption of the primary statute of July 29, 1881, which guaranteed after a century of struggle the liberties that were so enjoyed, and abused, under the Third Republic. Louis Charlet and Robert Ranc, both of the Institut Français de Presse, have jointly written an account of the changing technology of printing and publishing in the eighty years from 1865 to 1945. The volume is handsomely produced, as befits the subject, with a dozen or so splendid reproductions of "first pages" and with sketches and drawings of the various mechanical and technological innovations over the years.

Pierre Albert discusses with candor the difficulties involved in writing the history of the press as an institution, citing among many other obstacles the inadequacy of the official and private sources that would make such a history possible. To mention only one major problem of sources, French newspapers for a long time considered such matters as circulation figures—let alone their financial affairs—business secrets to be jealously guarded from competitors. Likewise, concrete proof for the generally accepted pattern of subsidies to the press from business interests and other pressure groups, or from the French government (through the secret funds of the ministry of the interior), or from foreign governments, it turns out, are extremely difficult to trace even though indirect evidence for widespread subornation abounds; one will not be sure after reading this cautious, judicious account to what extent the press of the Third Republic was a *presse vendue*, but by no means is the suggestion dispelled.

The study also skillfully raises the special problems involved in trying to evaluate the impact of the press on the political life of the country during these years. Did the press in the Third Republic merely reflect existing social

and political antagonisms, or did it serve to create and sharpen them? What influence did the press exert on public opinion and on the voter? In at least two elections, those of 1912 and 1936, when the parties of the Left won victories at the polls, the press had almost unanimously taken a stand directly counter to the program of the Left. Did the press undermine loyalty and allegiance to the Republic and thereby contribute to the decay of respect that culminated in 1940? M. Albert concludes that the unbridled license with which the daily press attacked the leading political figures of the Republic, its parliamentary institutions, and the governments of the day, especially in the years after 1919, undermined civic respect for the existing order; the polemics and personal abuse far exceeded that of the pre-1914 years.

Although the main focus is properly on the daily newspaper, the study does not neglect the weekly and monthly magazines, reviews, and journals of all kinds; nor are the provincial publications overlooked. The most valuable sections of the volume, almost encyclopedic in nature and to be cherished as a continuing source of reference, analyze one by one for three separate periods—the pre-1914 years, the years of the First World War, and the interwar years—the careers of the leading newspapers ("la vie des journaux"), examining their political orientation, their management, their publishers, editors, and writers, their special features and style, and the vicissitudes of their circulation. For the years from 1880 to 1914, the "big four" receive extended treatment: *Le Petit Parisien*, which, with a circulation of 1.5 million in 1914, boasted in its masthead of enjoying "le plus fort tirage des journaux du monde entier," and *Le Journal*, *Le Petit Journal*, and *Le Matin*, which were not far behind—the four accounting together for a total of 4.5 million readers. Influential newspapers outside the mass circulation category, like *Le Temps* or *Le Journal des Débats*, are also examined. These years represented the golden age of the French press when it pioneered in many ways and in circulation outstripped newspapers in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany, while at the same time maintaining a high level of artistic, literary, and intellectual quality. French newspapers never

quite recovered from the First World War, which ironically served as a stimulant to journalism in Britain and the United States, but not in France. Circulation increased after 1919, but more slowly; the number of papers diminished (as continued to be the case after 1945). The "big four" lost their clientele and had to face new competition. Here the success story was that of Jean Prouvost's *Paris-Soir*, which revolutionized reporting with its emphasis on photography and which became as much an illustrated daily magazine as a newspaper—"le Grand Quotidien d'Informations Illustrées"; its circulation increased amazingly from 130,000 in 1931 to 1.7 million in 1939.

There are few conclusions one can quarrel with in this comprehensive, ambitious, and scrupulously objective survey. Perhaps not enough is said of the socialist, communist, and labor presses, or such magazines as the social-Catholic *Esprit*, all of which also transcended in influence their limited circulation. One can question the thesis that the importance of the weekly and monthly magazines of politics grew so impressively after 1919 that they are now more useful for the historian of the interwar years than the daily press. How many students of the French Left would agree that "*La Lumière*, *Marianne*, *Vendredi* offer us today a much clearer and more profound testimonial of radical or socialist thought than *l'Oeuvre* or *le Populaire*"? Perhaps, too, more attention might have been paid to the role of advertising in the "new journalism," again a slippery subject to grasp. But all students of the Third Republic will be grateful for the questions raised, the information provided, the generalizations offered, and the opportunities suggested for future research in this admirable work. When the fourth volume appears, the completed project will represent a comprehensive history of the French press in the tradition of Louis-Eugène Hatin's eight-volume study written a century ago. The completed work will supersede the various histories attempted since 1900, such as those by Henri Avenel, Georges Weill, Raymond Manevy, or Jacques Kayser, and will not be matched to my knowledge by as grandiose an endeavor for any other country.

JOEL COLTON
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CHRISTIAN GRAS. *Alfred Rosmer (1877-1964) et le mouvement révolutionnaire international*. (Bibliothèque socialiste, 19.) Paris: François Maspero. 1971. Pp. 531.

This is the story of a true believer whose politics were his life. Alfred Griot, born in New York (1877), the son of a poor French hairdresser, grew up in Montrouge (after 1884); he adopted his pseudonym from Ibsen's *Rosmerholm*, became a revolutionary syndicalist, and, soon, a full-time militant. One of the tiny minority of left-wing leaders to oppose the war (during which time he formed a lasting friendship with Trotsky), he welcomed the Bolshevik Revolution and went to Moscow where he was deeply involved in the activities of the Communist and syndicalist Internationals. On his return to France he joined the new Communist party, was excommunicated in 1924, and remained to his death a steadfast adherent and critic of the Revolution, an anti-Stalinist Communist.

Rosmer's is an important figure of secondary rank. His life is part of (or in counterpoint to) much of the history of the Second, Third, and Fourth Internationals. Thus the book surveys French and international revolutionary syndicalism before 1914, torn by national divisions and doctrinal (that is, largely personal) rivalries, the wartime minoritarian struggles, the tergiversations of the Communist International, the factional struggles of the French party (where Gras avoids duplicating the works of Kriegel and Wohl), and, finally, the politics of the communist opposition(s) dominated by the towering figures of Trotsky and Stalin. Rosmer himself, after 1924, moved from a hopeless attempt at nonfractional criticism to Trotskyism; and, from that, to independent analysis and action in growing isolation. Having opposed the authoritarian methods of Stalin, he opposed those of Trotsky too. But he remained personally close to the latter, trusted by Trotsky beyond their disagreements and by Trotsky's widow, Natalie.

Much of the book makes excruciating reading. The accounts of factional positions, struggles and evolutions in France and at the international level are terribly thorough, and Christian Gras is master of his sources. He deserves high marks for their variety and scrupulous use. After a while, however, the blow-by-

blow description of so many disputes begins to read like the battle of Waterloo seen by Fabrice del Dongo, with numerous footnotes. Yet, in the end, if one can last the course (and the last dozen pages are well worth coming to), a moving portrait emerges by accumulation of the sort of man who enters revolution as others do religion. Solitary, reserved, generous, thoughtful, unambitious, argumentative, undisciplined, a perpetual heretic and impenitent optimist, Rosmer was sustained and exalted by stubborn faith. The revolution to which he dedicated his life failed, the class war faltered, the working class itself he dreamed to liberate went other ways. Rosmer found himself a revolutionary without a revolution. Perhaps, after all, "the struggle itself towards the heights is enough to fill a man's life. One must imagine Sisyphus happy."

EUGEN WEBER
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Los Angeles

JÜRGEN ROSENBAUM. *Frankreich in Tunesien: Die Anfänge des Protektorates, 1881-1886.* (Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegegeschichte, Number 7.) [Zurich:] Atlantis. 1971. Pp. 263.

The stated aim of this work is to fill in a gap between the major monograph of Jean Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie*, and various other works on the development of Tunisia under French rule. The years upon which Rosenbaum concentrates are those when Paul Cambon, the second French Resident in Tunisia, laid the groundwork for the regime that was to last virtually until independence in 1956.

This goal notwithstanding, Rosenbaum devotes a good fifth of his book to summarizing events and issues already dealt with (as he fully acknowledges) by Ganiage. When he finally gets to his own period the emphasis is not so much upon colonial administration as such but rather the legal, diplomatic, and domestic political issues surrounding the installation of an administrative system. As Rosenbaum demonstrates, Cambon's problems were numerous and complex, including the ambivalence of the very term "protectorate," the extraterritorial rights and financial supervision still exercised by other

European states in Tunisia, and the indecisiveness of various, constantly falling French governments.

The author is to be congratulated for working his way systematically through this morass of negotiations. Nevertheless, his style of presentation—essentially a narrative of proposals, obstacles, counterproposals, revisions, and the like—does not provide the most engaging reading. Moreover, the main point which Rosenbaum makes in his introduction, that the Tunisian protectorate would provide an entirely new model for French colonialism, seems poorly supported by the evidence presented and is partially abandoned by the author in his own conclusions. Cambon, who began his public career as a prefect in several domestic *départements*, had no very clear ideas about colonial government and simply did his best to establish as firm a French presence in Tunisia as possible. To avoid the cardinal error of large domestic expenditure and the secondary one of imitating the Algerian settler system (disapproved of, apparently, more on financial than philosophical grounds) he made some use of indigenous political institutions. But since Rosenbaum is weakest on the Tunisian, as opposed to the French, dimensions of his subject we learn little of what changes or continuities actually developed at the local level. The research is solidly based upon archival sources, but the scope of inquiry seems too narrowly focused upon matters that do not, perhaps, require quite such detailed attention.

RALPH A. AUSTEN
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JUDITH M. HUGHES. *To the Maginot Line: The Politics of French Military Preparation in the 1920's.* (Harvard Historical Monographs, 64.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1971. Pp. x, 300. \$9.00.

"Things are in the saddle and ride mankind." It is in this light that the author of this stimulating and excellently documented book sees the problems surrounding the planning of French national defense in the period between the wars. Once the years of German inactivity passed and the vital demographic and industrial inferiority of France began to matter in very real terms, Paris took the line that the

best form of attack was defense—hence the Maginot scheme, instead of a bold strategy of striking eastward into the German heartland. Only on the northern frontier was war to bring an offensive thrust to take Armageddon onto Belgian soil and preserve the crucial French industrial sites of the Nord and the Pas de Calais.

While there is much in the argument that there was no straight civilian/military cleavage on defense policies, and while true practical exigencies like financial and manpower shortages, not to mention pressures against coercive methods from London, did militate against indulgence in bold and imaginative thinking, the fact remains that what civilians were frequently glad to do soldiers embraced with considerable reluctance, and what was actually demoralizing could and should have stimulated all in authority to greater flights of fancy than a scheme for making an ultramodern “Great Wall of China.” To say that the French policy makers were somehow exonerated from blame for 1940 because of the overwhelming concatenation of unfortunate circumstances, when those circumstances were just not anything like so overwhelming and unfortunate, is to beg the fundamental questions. Just why demoralization was justified the author does not explain. Some Frenchmen saw technology and superior weaponry as a way out of potential disaster. There was nothing inevitable about the neglect of an effective airforce. No fates had decreed that machines could not fly over French territory. Even if the Maginot plan was right it would have taken an excellent airforce to have pulled it off and to have made the strategy of the northward thrust begin to make sense. We have here but another instance of revision having been taken too far. For, of course, it is incorrect to pour unadulterated scorn upon the defense planners of interwar France. Nevertheless, they were not among the most blameless of men. They possessed great scope for free will, though great scope is not, let it be clear, anything like full scope.

Individual personalities are particularly well handled. Foch and Pétain, Poincaré and Blum—all emerge with veritable life in them. The trends of French interwar history are deftly carried through onto these pages with an

unobtrusive lucidity and persuasiveness. All in all the project is most worthwhile.

MICHAEL HURST
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JAN DEN TEX. *Oldenbarnevelt*. Volume 1, 1547–1606; volume 2, 1606–1619. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 357; viii, 359–759. \$55.00 the set.

A century ago the American historian John Lothrop Motley completed his nine-volume account of the origins and foundations of the Republic of the United Provinces with two volumes on Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, who more than any other man created and consolidated the North Netherlands state. Since then the only biography, even in Dutch, has been an idiosyncratic little book by Theun de Vries (1940), who was not a trained historian. Jan den Tex, who was trained as a jurist but turned to historical studies, although he did not enter the world of regular university teaching, took on almost thirty years ago the task of writing an adequate, up-to-date biography, which he completed in 1972. It appeared in five volumes, the first three of text and the last two of additional essays, bibliographical materials, and various appendixes. From the 1,903 pages of original text he then distilled a briefer work of 703 pages, which R. B. Powell has translated into English under his supervision. There are significant differences between the two versions. The original was extraordinarily full, combining a wealth of detail with close analyses; the result was a work of great transparency. The abridged version from which the translation was done retains the bulk of the narrative, trimmed somewhat, but with much of the analysis gone. It will read more quickly and probably more easily for most readers, but specialists will still go often to the Dutch for its greater illumination of numerous events and problems.

The translation is smooth and generally accurate, but Powell, who is not a historian, now and then wanders too far, I think, from accepted historical usage. Why “Counter-Remonstrant” when historians have written “Contra-Remonstrant” for centuries? *Raadpensionaris* is not really translated into English by “Grand

Pensionary," which comes from the French *Grand Pensionnaire* and was used for Holland's *Raadpensionaris* only. ("By rote" for "by turn," *bij tourbeurte*, is presumably only a slip.) Yet, to his credit, Powell has sought to retain the racy flavor of den Tex's original, with its puns, allusions, and deliberate anachronisms, although some of his bold solutions were rejected by his editors as insufficiently academic (according to a letter from the author to the reviewer). These remarks are intended not to denigrate Powell's achievement, which is on the whole excellent, but to reaffirm the importance of historically responsive and responsible translation. In any case, a splendid book has been made available to a far wider circle of readers.

HERBERT H. ROWEN
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ALICE CLARE CARTER. *The Dutch Republic in Europe in the Seven Years War*. Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press. 1971. Pp. xvii, 181. \$10.00.

The once mighty Republic of the United Provinces, which played such a prominent role in European wars and diplomacy in the seventeenth century, chose to remain neutral during the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War. Dutch historians have not been too much interested in eighteenth-century Dutch history, and certainly not in the role their country played in the Seven Years' War. We must therefore welcome this study, which discusses the foreign policy of the Republic during this European conflict and the effect the war had on the Republic's internal developments.

Anyone who undertakes a study of eighteenth-century Dutch political life or foreign policy requires courage and fortitude. Trying to unravel the tortuous decision-making process and to grasp the complexity of the Republic's bureaucracy is no mean task. This study is principally based on Dutch, English, and other archival materials that thus far have not been fully utilized. Unfortunately, the author did not include a bibliography, and thus we do not know if she has consulted various major works that are not listed in the footnotes.

Her study reveals that the Dutch Republic

preferred a policy of neutrality after 1714. When war came in 1756 the Dutch announced their neutrality, and the major belligerent powers concluded that it was in their own interest to keep the Republic neutral, since they profited considerably from Dutch trade, services, and loans. A conflict with Britain did arise over colonial trade, but this issue was resolved after a moment of acute tension.

The author concludes that the Dutch policy of neutrality was not dictated by the super powers but was designed to promote and protect the Republic's interest. Although one would not disagree with this thesis, it is well to re-emphasize that it was the big powers that allowed the Republic to remain neutral. The American War of Independence, the War of the First Coalition, and World War II demonstrated how easily the Dutch could become embroiled in major conflicts in spite of a strong desire to remain neutral.

I had expected more than was presented here; the material is sketchy and introductory. We learn little about the decision-making process, public opinion, the details of the Anglo-Dutch crisis, and so on. Furthermore, there is much repetitious material and a lack of organization, the last chapter being a case in point.

GERLOF D. HOMAN
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YVAN VANDEN BERGHE. *Jacobijnen en Traditionalisten: De reacties van de Bruggelingen in de Revolutietijd (1780-1794)* [Jacobins and Traditionalists: The Reactions of the Inhabitants of Bruges in the Revolutionary Period (1780-1794)]. Volume 1; volume 2, *Bijlagen* [Tables]. (Historische uitgaven, number 32.) [Brussels:] Pro Civitate. 1972. Pp. xlviii, 423; 237.

The Dutch-language community, whether in the Netherlands or Belgium, has been more willing on the whole than the French to see a "democratic" revolution occurring in Europe and America at the time of the French Revolution. To the work of G. H. E. de Wit on the strictly Dutch region are now added these two volumes on the town of Bruges and its adjoining territory. There is a twelve-page French summary to the first volume, and the entire second volume forms a statistical appendix. The latter, which can be used with very little

knowledge of Dutch, presents amazingly detailed lists—by name, age, occupation, and, in many cases, by degree of wealth—of the members of various ruling bodies and of the Bruges Jacobin club of 1792.

The author finds that Bruges, and presumably much of the Austrian Netherlands, was not the stagnant or backward place at the end of the eighteenth century that has often been said. It was a center of textiles, productive agriculture, and trade, and hence of an active middle class, which opposed the privileged orders, read the French philosophes, favored the American Revolution, supported the measures of Joseph II, and later contributed strongly to the democratic or Jacobin element. "The most notable fact of this period [1791–92] was the sensational development of a democratic movement. A truly revolutionary spirit prevailed at Bruges, which reached its height with the arrival of French troops" (vol. 1, p. 404). The famous French decree of December 15, 1792, sometimes miscalled a "propaganda decree," is seen by the author as a measure of "democratization and modernization." Since conservative resistance at Bruges made it unworkable, the Bruges democrats began to favor annexation to republican France. The author concludes that the movement at Bruges was not a "conservative uprising in a backward country," but that, while forward looking, it was of course very different from the French Revolution also.

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A. IA. GUREVICH. *Svobodnoe krest'ianstvo feodal'noi Norvegii* [The Free Peasantry of Feudal Norway]. (Akademii Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii, Nauchyi Sovet po Istorii Mirovoi Kul'tury.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1967. Pp. 283.

In this splendid book, Gurevich, who for two decades has poured out articles on early medieval Norway, puts it all together. The title is an understatement in that it claims less than the author provides. The free peasantry is only a principal thread in a wider discussion that ranges over the whole field of Norwegian social history from the ninth to the thirteenth century. More than that, however, Gurevich directly challenges the whole notion that tradi-

tional (and Marxist) concepts—derived from other historical models—can be usefully applied to the developments in early medieval Norway. He insists that the concrete particulars of the Norwegian historical experience not be obscured or distorted by efforts to find in them conformities with standard patterns either of sequence or of content. Possibly in anticipation of the criticism that has, indeed, fallen upon him in the Soviet Union, he argues his case both explicitly and implicitly throughout the book, and the reader is thus privileged to share not only in the intricate controversies raging over medieval Norwegian (and Icelandic) sources and their meaning, but in another episode in the struggle for a freer Soviet historiography.

Gurevich's fate as a Soviet historian will presumably depend on politico-ideological considerations that have little to do with his competence; his stature as explicator of the social history of early medieval Norway is bound to be more secure. Specialists in the interpretation of the Icelandic sagas and early Norwegian law collections will undoubtedly, as they struggle with the Russian, find fault with matters of detail—Gurevich invites argument by his very effort to be exact—but the general flow of his theses is well within the arena where recent Western scholars contend, and he is well armed to defend himself. The twelve pages of English summary in the book usefully outline Gurevich's theses, but they do not do justice to the nuances of his argument at once cluttered and illuminated by inevitable remnants of Marxism and the struggle to break free.

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MARTIN REDEKER. *Schleiermacher: Life and Thought*. Translated by JOHN WALLHAUSSER. Philadelphia: Fortress Press. 1973. Pp. 221. \$4.50.

Friedrich Schleiermacher once declared that one must know him to understand his writings. In the 173 years since the Berlin theologian made this statement scholars have made monumental efforts to analyze and explain his writings. But, as Martin Redeker notes in his introduction to *Schleiermacher: Life and Thought*,

few attempts have been made to "know" Schleiermacher. And in spite of Redeker's admission that a thorough study of Schleiermacher's life is badly needed, the author proceeds along the path of his predecessors and devotes his attention to an analysis of Schleiermacher's major literary achievements. The result is a brief combination of magnificent scholarship and disappointing omissions.

The chief strength of the book lies in Redeker's unusual talent for presenting intricate concepts in an orderly, concise way. His discussion of romanticism is excellent. His insight into Schleiermacher's ethical concepts is sharp and pointed. His brief analysis of Schleiermacher's *Reden über die Religion* (1799) is one of the best to be found in print in English or German. His "translation" of nineteenth-century theological terms into a contemporary dialogue is masterful.

Unfortunately Schleiermacher's life is almost accidentally introduced as a background for his major writings, and only a small portion of the book may be considered biographical. Redeker utilized excellent sources from which a vivid and comprehensive story of Schleiermacher's life could have been drawn, so the emphasis upon the major writings was one of choice and not necessity.

There are several unfortunate treatments, such as Redeker's explanation of the audience for whom Schleiermacher's *Reden* was intended, for Schleiermacher made it quite clear that his work was directed toward his fellow romanticists. The collapse of the friendship with Friedrich Schlegel is also treated very poorly. The critical period of the awakening of nationalistic consciousness at Halle in 1806-07 and the torrent of patriotic activity in Berlin are hardly mentioned. Finally, Redeker's heavy reliance upon *Reden* and *Der Christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der Evangelischen Kirche* (1821-22) and only passing references to the numerous collections of his sermons and other writings give a rather distorted picture of Schleiermacher's "thought."

In conclusion, *Schleiermacher: Life and Thought* is a brief and well-written study of the major writings of Schleiermacher, with little attention given to his life. The book is a tribute to its late author, Martin Redeker. Special recognition should go to Dr. John Wall-

hausser of Upsala College for the accurate and lively translation of Redeker's book.

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MARGRIT TWELLMANN. *Die deutsche Frauenbewegung im Spiegel repräsentativer Frauenzeitschriften: Ihre Anfänge und erste Entwicklung, 1843-1889*. Volume 1; volume 2, *Quellen, 1843-1889*. (Marburger Abhandlungen zur politischen Wissenschaft, number 17, parts 1 and 2.) Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hein. 1972. Pp. 246; 570. DM 46.80; DM 85.00.

The title of Margrit Twellmann's monograph promises somewhat more than the book delivers. This volume, along with the documentary supplement that accompanies it, in fact concerns itself only with the liberal, middle-class German women's movement. But with this proviso Twellmann's work gives an excellent survey of the early years of the movement—its concerns, organizational patterns, and theoretical bases. The relative timidity of the German movement stands out most sharply. Twellmann points out how, for the most part, the leadership of the nineteenth-century German women's movement accepted the traditionally defined "natural" differences between men and women and repeatedly affirmed that women were principally destined for motherhood, domesticity, and general nurturance—all this to complement masculine enterprise, boldness, and intellect. Accommodation to these conventional views gave a distinctive direction to the early German women's movement; the movement's efforts on behalf of single women and working women, for example, seem to have been dictated largely by sympathy for those who could not fulfill their domestic nature. The great stress on women's education showed a similar mental set: educational activities could be, and often were, portrayed as an extension of women's domestic child rearing functions; moreover education was a long-term, nonradical sort of effort, an effort that rocked no boats and required no unfeminine pushiness, as did the contemporary suffrage movements in England and the United States. The diffidence of the German movement is, indeed, all the more evident by contrast with the occasional documents that Twellmann cites from America and Britain, where middle-class femin-

ists demanded much more and got much more and where at least some activists insisted upon their rights with a crisp disregard for the metaphysics of motherhood. To be sure, some of the German women showed a certain boldness, particularly in the later part of the period Twellmann describes; and throughout the period there were a few refreshing exceptions to the general meekness. Here the audacious Hedwig Dohm is most notable; she was constantly alarming her contemporaries with her spiky comments on traditionalistic attitudes and with her forthright demand for the vote as a matter of simple justice.

On the whole, however, the nineteenth-century middle-class German women's movement seems to have lacked an essential element of sheer nerve. Here were no George Sands scandalizing her peers, no Susan B. Anthonys lecturing judges on the inadequacies of the legal system, no Victoria Woodhulls running for the presidency or expounding the principles of free love. Twellmann discusses some of the reasons for the German women's diffidence: the extremely hostile climate of public opinion, the highly confining legal and financial limits on German women's activities, and the necessity within the women's movement to maintain support from skeptical or paternalistic males and from new female members as well, many of them persons who would be alienated by any appearance of assertiveness.

One final note on the documentary supplement: the order of the selections here makes little sense apart from the narrative text, but in conjunction with that text, the documents add a good deal of color to an otherwise somewhat prosaic presentation. Taken together, these volumes constitute a solid and most interesting contribution to the literature on the nineteenth-century German women's movement.

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LOTHAR ALBERTIN, *Liberalismus und Demokratie am Anfang der Weimarer Republik: Eine vergleichende Analyse der Deutschen Demokratischen Partei und der Deutschen Volkspartei*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 45.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1972. Pp. 466. DM 64.

KLAUS SCHÖNHOFEN, *Die Bayerische Volkspartei,*

1924-1932. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 46.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1972. Pp. 305. DM 54.

A vote of thanks is due the West German Commission for the History of Parliamentarianism and Political Parties for having sponsored and published a lengthy series of scholarly works dealing with these important aspects of German history. The two volumes under review are further evidence of the growing interest among young German scholars in studying the political dynamics of their pre-Nazi era. Such studies fill important gaps left by older scholars, who tended to look at history from a traditional, legal point of view.

Lothar Albertin concentrates his study on a comparative analysis of the German Democratic party and the German People's party at the outset of the Weimar period. Since he fails to provide a background chapter on the history of the liberal parties prior to 1918, a nonspecialist reader should first consult Friedrich Sell's study of German liberalism (*Die Tragödie des Deutschen Liberalismus* [1953]). Albertin, by restricting his investigation to the period from November 1918 to 1920, provides the depth necessary to an understanding of the early turbulent Weimar years. While he covers much of the same ground as Wolfgang Hartenstein's volume on the German People's party from 1918 to 1920, Albertin's contribution lies in analyzing the intriguing contrasts in ideology, program, and style between the two major liberal parties. The advantage of such an approach is to see the interrelationships, both positive and negative, between the occasionally allied and frequently feuding parties. The disadvantage, a serious one, is that the reader fails to obtain a composite view of each party.

The author provides a detailed survey of the organization, social structure, finance, and programmatic views of the two parties. The newly founded German Democratic party (DDP), less conservative than the German People's party (DVP), began as the more powerful organization but soon lost a high proportion of its 900,000 members to extremist parties. This inability to build a broad and stable electoral and membership base was a blow to those who had faith in its support of the new democratic re-

gime. The DVP had more success in wooing the bourgeois voters, and thus initially had less inhibitions than the DDP in accepting financial support from the business community.

Both parties suffered not only from internal factionalism, but from ideological cleavages between them. Thus, when Gustav Stresemann, head of the DVP, opposed fusion, the liberal camp remained split and lost effectiveness in shaping government programs. Both parties supported the constitution, but the DDP was more willing to enter into coalition government with the Social Democratic party than the more conservative DVP. The DDP and the DVP opposed the peace treaty and the attempts at socialization of the economy, while supporting the parliamentary system as a way of damming the power of the masses.

While the reader on occasion will encounter confusion in the flow of the narrative, a careful perusal will unearth many nuggets of information and analysis. He will be ready to plunge into other works to discover how both parties fared during the remainder of the Weimar era.

In the second study under review, Klaus Schönhoven investigates the conservative Bavarian People's party (BVP) in the initially more tranquil setting from 1924 to 1932. In a way this is a more satisfactory volume than that of Albertin since the time span covered deals essentially with the life cycle of the BVP. The author provides a useful introductory chapter tracing its period of infancy from November 1918 to 1924. He promises the reader a section on the death of the party in a revised edition of Erich Matthias and Rudolf Morsey's edited volume, *Das Ende der Parteien 1933* (1960). I would have preferred a concluding chapter on the demise of the party in the present volume in order to provide the reader with a more self-contained package. But this criticism should not detract from the value of a most detailed, pioneering, and scholarly work.

A successor to the Bavarian Center party, the BVP emerged as a Catholic, anti-Prussian, separatist party. Championing the slogan "Bavaria for the Bavarians," it was not joking when it asserted that if "anarchists and Bolsheviks" take over Berlin after the revolution of 1918, Bavaria ought to become a separate state. Nevertheless the party allied itself with the nationally-based Catholic Center party. But because of

ideological differences and the propensity of the Center party to espouse the unitary principle and to ally itself with the Social Democrats, the BVP could not proceed to the next logical step—fusion.

In the bulk of the study the author dissects the BVP's organization (shades of Robert Michels) and social base (primarily conservative/Bavarian peasants), and then analyzes the party's fate during two time segments, 1924–28 and 1928–32. Much of the narrative deals with an assessment of the party at the national rather than state level, even though the party captured key leadership positions in the Bavarian government and represented the largest parliamentary group in the state diet. There is justification in the emphasis on the national level, since the party had representation in some coalition cabinets and in parliament and pursued a vigorous, albeit losing, fight to support the principle of federalism and to gain more benefits for Bavaria.

Schönhoven does not fault the party for representing the interests of its members and supporters, but he rightly criticizes it for failing to support the democratic order at the national and state levels, thus facilitating the eventual rise of the Nazi regime.

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JOST DÜLFFER. *Weimar, Hitler und die Marine: Reichspolitik und Flottenbau, 1920–1939*. With an appendix by JÜRGEN ROHWER. Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1973. Pp. 615. DM 78.

Scholars will find this book important in several distinct but related ways. On a specific level Dr. Dülffer's study, originally his Freiburg dissertation, represents a major contribution to the writing of German naval history. Concerned primarily with the period 1920–39, the author provides a thematic bridge between Volker R. Berghahn's *Der Tirpitz Plan (1898–1908)* (1971) and Michael Salewski's two-volume *Die deutsche Seekriegsleitung 1935–1945* (vol. 1, 1970). Supported by extensive archival research Dülffer thoroughly documents the significance of *Flottenpolitik* for both foreign and domestic policy in the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich.

On a more general level he views the navy as an institution that can be studied to illustrate the continuity of German history from Tirpitz through Adolf Hitler. Dülffer thus contributes to the revisionist controversy that surrounds the writing of modern German history and that has animated, if not dominated, several recent conferences on military history (Edinburgh and Kirchzarten, 1972). Contrary to those who see Hitler as an "opportunist" or the naval apologists who argue that the Führer never understood sea power, the author uses the naval archives to demonstrate Hitler's long-range program of pursuing Wilhelmian Germany's dream of world power—a plan that included the building of a large navy. And finally this book offers the historian of National Socialism a view into the relationship of Hitler with a specific group—in this case a "traditional, conservative *Führungsgruppe*"—in the same manner as the study of Hitler's colonial policy in Klaus Hildebrand's fine study *Von Reich zum Weltreich* (1969).

Such an ambitious undertaking, tying together the threads of the navy's relationship to domestic and foreign politics as well as the financial and economic issues of two decades and two different governments, requires a great deal of skillful integration and organization. In the former task the author is heavily indebted to the pioneering works of the above-named historians as well as Andreas Hillgruber (for example, his *Kontinuität und Diskontinuität in der deutschen Aussenpolitik von Bismarck bis Hitler* [1969]) and Hans-Adolf Jacobsen (*Nationalsozialistische Aussenpolitik 1933–1938* [1968]). Those familiar with these studies will welcome Dülffer's detailed investigation of the naval evidence that provides a different prospective and, in some cases, a necessary corrective.

The wide range of topics necessary to demonstrate the author's general thesis of continuity requires a very tight organizational framework. Accordingly the book is divided into four major sections with thirty-eight subheadings. In the first section Dülffer reviews the development of the navy from Tirpitz to the appointment of Erich Raeder as navy chief in 1928. Here the author describes the naval officer's inability (and unwillingness) to escape the domination of the Tirpitz school or to accept the navy's political and military insignificance

in postwar Germany. Instead the active and retired officers maintained the Tirpitz Social Darwinist conception of Germany's inevitable role as a world sea power and believed that the rebuilding of a large fleet would symbolize the nation's recovery from defeat and revolution. Reflecting their reading of Oswald Spengler and their ideological distance from the Weimar Republic, the officers felt that they had to keep alive the idea of Germany's world mission until the inevitable transformation of the domestic political situation.

In the second section Dülffer discusses naval armament as a political factor in the last years of the Republic and the attempts of the navy to free itself from the restrictions of the Versailles Treaty. Throughout the series of international disarmament negotiations as well as in the navy's own construction and operational plans, the officers were conscious of the necessity to provide the basis for Germany's second attempt to become a sea power. Even at this early stage, where the support of other powers, especially England and America, was essential, the naval leaders were aware that an eventual conflict with the maritime powers would be difficult to avoid.

The last two sections, the larger and more critical parts of the author's investigation, describe the transition from Schleicher's *Umbauplan* to Hitler's 1935 naval agreement with England and the building of a *Weltmachtflotte* between 1935 and 1939. Tracing the origins of Hitler's attitudes toward the navy in the years before 1933 to his direct and major intervention in the construction of a new fleet, Dülffer convincingly supports his thesis that the navy played a central role in both Hitler's long- and short-range program. At first Hitler hoped to use the issue of naval rearmament as a means of persuading the British to accept Germany's bid for Continental hegemony. Voluntarily limiting German naval strength to thirty-five per cent of the Royal Navy in June 1935 did not, however, imply Hitler's rejection of a fleet or even a temporary delay in the Führer's timetable for German expansion, since the naval agreement allowed the navy, at the very least, a threefold expansion over the restrictions of Versailles.

The navy's dissatisfaction with the thirty-five per cent limitations anticipated Hitler's disap-

pointment over the progress of his foreign policy, and in 1937, for the first time, the naval command's plans included England as a possible enemy. Hitler not only gave fleet building priority in labor and raw materials, but, as Dülffer reveals, the Führer threatened to replace Raeder if he could not increase the pace of construction. The navy's preparation for war with England culminated in a building program, the 1939 Z-Plan, capable of acting as a deterrent (reminiscent of the Tirpitz "Risk Plan") or, if needed, fighting the Royal Navy with some chance of success. Hitler refused to allow the navy any freedom in reversing his priorities of completing battleships first, and he assured Raeder that war would not come before 1944.

One of the most interesting aspects of Dülffer's account of the period from 1934 to 1939 is his description of the navy's growing skepticism toward Hitler's goals. It appeared doubtful whether Germany could sustain the pace or scale of its armaments program without creating an economic or social crisis. For the second time in German history the building of a large navy proved to be a decisive factor in domestic politics, but, as the author argues, its importance had acquired a different meaning. Instead of serving as a means of social integration, an argument used by the followers of Tirpitz, Hitler's naval program proved to be a considerable step in the direction of social disruption. Since the dynamics of National Socialism did not permit a consolidation in either domestic or foreign affairs, war appeared as the only alternative. In this sense Dülffer argues that the *Flottenbau* contributed more directly and immediately to Hitler's long-range social objective of destroying the existing order and creating a New Order than the Führer had originally envisioned. Ultimately, however, this process would have occurred "naturally" as a result of Germany's drive for Continental hegemony, the maintaining of the captured territory, and Hitler's bid for world power.

It should be obvious from this review that Dülffer has much to offer and does it well. Critics, especially the older German naval officers and historians, will argue that the past was not quite so ordered and exact as Dülffer presents it here. At times it seems that Dülffer strains to be too inclusive—to fit too much into his pat-

tern. He is clearly on much firmer ground when he integrates his own research with recent scholarship in foreign policy, for example, and less so when he tries to integrate such relatively uncharted areas as National Socialist economic and social questions, where definitive works have yet to be written. There is still a need for more specialized studies in this period of naval history, and the author has provided a service by indicating where such investigations will be useful (for example, the role of the naval shipyards in the armaments industry).

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ROBERT PAYNE. *The Life and Death of Adolf Hitler*. New York: Praeger Publishers. 1973. Pp. xiii, 623. \$12.95.

This thick volume by a professional biographer has little to offer to the serious student of Adolf Hitler. It tells a familiar story colorfully and in great detail; but it says nothing much new. The author has worked his way through much of the mass of primary material that by now has accumulated on Hitler; but he has done so uncritically, and, more important, he has neglected most of the equally voluminous secondary literature that might have made him aware of some of the questions historians are still asking about Hitler. On key events in the Führer's life, such as the 1923 putsch, the death of his niece Geli Raubal, the Reichstag fire, or the "blood purge" of 1934, Payne usually accepts the more vivid but not necessarily reliable evidence. The same holds for Hitler's early years, where the dubious reminiscences of August Kubizek are heavily relied upon. Another questionable source is a manuscript by Hitler's sister-in-law, Bridget Elizabeth Hitler, entitled "My Brother-in-Law Adolf" (unpublished manuscript in the New York Public Library). It is on this document that Payne bases his story of a lengthy visit that Hitler in 1912-13 allegedly paid his relatives, then living in England. If true, this would fill an important gap in Hitler's early career and, because of his later ambivalence toward England, would be of considerable interest to historians. But the tenor of Bridget Hitler's account is such as to cast serious doubts on its

reliability, and no other writer on Hitler has accepted her story.

As for the author's general evaluation of Hitler, he has little doubt that the man was mad. "There was madness in him almost from the beginning"; as a teenager, "Adolf was in a state close to madness"; after the failure of the Munich putsch he was "driven to the edge of madness"; ten years later he "teetered on the edge of madness when he became Chancellor"; and finally, "on June 30, 1934, he was insane." No attempt is made to explain how this madman was able subsequently to lead Germany to the threshold of world domination.

Among the book's more useful features are a detailed chronology and some appended documents. The illustrations, with one or two exceptions, offer the usual fare; and the references, exclusively to Hitler's verbatim utterances, are perfunctory. A reassessment of Hitler is clearly needed, but this is not it.

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FRIEDRICH P. KAHLENBERG. *Deutsche Archive in West und Ost: Zur Entwicklung des staatlichen Archivwesens seit 1945*. (Mannheimer Schriften zur Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 4.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1972. Pp. 153. DM 18.

This small book, based on a series of lectures at University College, Dublin, by a West German archivist, seeks to characterize the underlying presuppositions of German archival work since 1945 rather than to chronicle the development of archival organizations and holdings. Historians might read it on three distinct levels: for guidance on the use of German archives, for a comparative administrative history of archives in West and East Germany, or for insight into the problems of the German archivist.

The archive user must not expect the book to be a handbook on archives and their holdings in the Federal Republic (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Nevertheless it presents some very helpful background information on central government archives since 1871. Moreover, the extensive footnotes provide a useful bibliographical introduction to the field. Dr. Kahlenberg treats the developments in the German federal states (like Prussia or Bavaria) much more sparingly,

though in certain respects their collections are as significant for the study of Germany as a whole as are those of the old *Reichsarchiv*. His definition of subject matter—"state archives"—generally excludes private archives and document collections from his purview, though occasionally they receive brief mention.

As administrative history the essay is interesting and rewarding. The author points out quite correctly that the archives of the FRG and the GDR reflect the political and social systems of their respective countries. Thus in the FRG, archives are relatively decentralized. In a pluralistic society, plurality of archives reigns. In the GDR, on the other hand, there is much more centralization. Theoretically, archival materials there of all kinds are part of a public trust and subject to public control. In practice the GDR military has its own separate archives, as does the dominant political party, the Socialist Unity party. A more detailed discussion of the sensitive question of the return of confiscated archival materials by the Four Powers following World War II would have been welcome.

Finally Dr. Kahlenberg wants to ventilate his feelings on the problems of his profession. Archivists are required by the new information technologies to become increasingly specialized, and they therefore seem to be increasingly alienated from those with whom they work—government officials, social scientists, and historians. Everyone complains about the service they receive without trying to understand the archivists' problems. There may be an overtone of self-pity here. But on balance Dr. Kahlenberg is quite right, and his solution—the "critical support" of scholarly colleagues from all fields—is doubtless the proper one.

The historian will find this a useful little volume on whichever level it is read. A few hours with it would be an excellent investment for anyone planning to spend many days, weeks, or even years, working with German archival sources.

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FÉLIX KREISSLER. *De la révolution à l'annexion: L'Autriche de 1918 à 1938*. (Publications de l'Université de Rouen.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971. Pp. 457. 42 fr.

BRUCE F. PAULEY. *Hahnenschwanz und Hakenkreuz: Der Steirische Heimatschutz und der österreichische Nationalsozialismus, 1918-1934*. Vienna: Europaverlag. 1972. Pp. 243. Sch. 148.

WALTER B. MAASS. *Assassination in Vienna*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1972. Pp. x, 180. \$7.95.

DIETER WAGNER and GERHARD TOMKOWITZ. *Anschluss: The Week Hitler Seized Vienna*. Translated by GEOFFREY STRACHAN. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1971. Pp. 255. \$7.95.

These four books deal with a turbulent period in the history of Austria, once the heart of one of Europe's major Continental powers. After the First World War, Austria—what was, according to Clemenceau, "left over" of the monarchy after partition—was clearly an insignificant state. But we must assume that the study of any one area, however insignificant in terms of size and power, can be fruitful and illumine some of the laws, general and particular, governing the destinies of human societies. Nevertheless it is the task of the historian who examines such an area to demonstrate the benefits, other than merely sentimental or antiquarian ones, that can be derived from a study of this area.

It is deplorable that the study of the first Austrian Republic should still lag far behind the study of its twin republic, the Weimar Republic. Those "terrible times," as "Herr Karl" called them, have not yet sufficiently been claimed by scholarship. While many impediments to a "scholarly conquest" of the first Austrian Republic have been removed, thanks to the hard and persistent work of the Austrian scholarly community, one still persists—the very restricted accessibility for the period in question of the official archives. All four works under review, directly or indirectly, suffer from this handicap. It should be added, however, that none of the authors of these books happens to be residents of Austria and only two, Kreissler and Maass, are natives. Moreover, only one of them, Pauley, is a professional historian. For better or worse the reader comes away from a study of these four books with a sense of morbid excitement rather than satisfaction of a scholarly kind.

In the one treatise of a general nature, the one by Kreissler, the element of emotion unfortunately outweighs by far understanding and

analysis. Far from adding scope and depth to the works of Walter Goldinger, Charles A. Gulick, and Adam Wandruszka, it detracts from them. While it distinctly favors the Austrian Left, one of its main theses being that the Social Democrats in 1918 should have gone the "Russian way," it in no way deepens our knowledge of the Left, on which much work remains to be done.

Pauley's work is, in a conventional way, the most scholarly one of the lot, and by contrast to Kreissler's it takes us into the world of the Austrian Right. And whereas Kreissler, in the spirit of his advocacy of a Popular Front of Socialists and Communists, does not make necessary distinctions within the Left, Pauley succeeds in doing so in connection with the Right, especially elaborating the distinction between the Austrian *Heimwehr*, the Styrian pan-German oriented *Heimatschutz*, and the National Socialists. Nevertheless the book as a whole is disappointing. The chapters dealing with the *Heimwehr* and *Heimatschutz* are predominantly based on secondary materials, even where others are available; see for example the social composition of the *Heimwehr* (pp. 59-60) taken from Gulick; for the relation between the *Heimwehr* and the army (p. 62), the *New York Times*; for the Korneuburg Oath (pp. 73-74), Jedlicka is quoted. Most reprehensible, however, is the fact that the author uncritically adopts Ernst Nolte's definition of fascism (p. 68) without so much as considering the latter's inevitable conclusion, namely that European fascism was a phenomenon of the between-war period (*Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche* [1965]). For Pauley, fascism in Austria was a more or less understandable movement directed against the "Parteienstaat" (p. 208), and he concludes with the ill-founded and irresponsible warning that economic crisis coupled with a "new movement against the 'Parteienstaat' and parliamentarism" would be tantamount to a revival of fascism in Austria. Much more work will have to be done on "Austrofascism" and its derivations, ingredients, influences, and types before such warnings can carry any weight.

Assassination in Vienna and *Anschluss* are stirring journalistic accounts of two of the chief cataclysmic events in Austria's turbulent era. They raise the issue of the value of popularized

history, upon which the members of the profession tend to frown. If historical accuracy and subtlety are achieved, as they are hardly in the first book and far more in the second, popular history has its distinct merits. *Anschluss* is in fact a brilliant piece, well researched and well conceived. In their account of the critical days in which Schuschnigg's Austria was transformed into Hitler's *Ostmark*, the authors shift the searchlight deftly from Vienna to Berlin to the various foreign offices of the European powers, from the Austrian capital to the provinces, from the chancellery to the Fatherland Front and to Nazi headquarters in the Seitzergasse, from the loud and hysterical procession that overwhelmed the inner city in the night of that March 11 to the silent and desperate resignation of the persecuted ones. Altogether the book is a lively and exemplary case study of political subversion leading to a seizure of power.

In the long run, however, the study of Austrian history between the wars must derive its justification from a systematic study of problems, so far largely unexplored, such as those of a postimperial society, the viability of a small state, the nature of "Austrofascism," and many aspects of Marxism in Austria, in particular that of "Red Vienna."

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER
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HUGO WERMELINGER. *Lebensmittelteuerungen, ihre Bekämpfung und ihre politischen Rückwirkungen in Bern: Vom Ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert bis in die Zeit der Kappelerkriege.* (Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern, number 55.) [Bern: the Verein.] 1971. Pp. 296. 40 fr. S.

Essentially an exercise in tracing the efforts of a sixteenth-century municipality to combat a serious rise in the price of foodstuffs, this monograph makes use of the data contained in the municipal records of the Swiss city Bern, supplemented generously by evidence from the work of chroniclers. The author maintains that poor harvests were much the subordinate factor in the sharp price rise during the years 1529 to 1532, when the so-called Kappeler Wars were taking place. The Bern authorities, trying to protect the consumer in the city, felt that illegal engrossing caused the upward pressure, but

the author contends that psychological factors, especially the fear of hunger and famine, drove prices upward. To be sure, he points out also that wars in Italy provided favorable market conditions that attracted the peasants in the vicinity of Bern. Dr. Wermelinger attempts also to assess the effect of high food prices and food shortages on the military activities of Protestant Bern, its allies, and their confessional opponents elsewhere in Switzerland.

Besides the information that the author presents on a local historical problem, the reader should like to know how price movements elsewhere in Europe affected this Swiss city. He would also be interested to see how the methods that W. G. Hoskins has worked out for England would apply to Bern. If harvests had little effect on prices, then Hoskins's method, which attempts to use price changes as a surrogate for the quality of harvests, would not find support in the Swiss case.

Detailed regional studies are to be very much welcomed, but the criteria have to be established carefully for these studies to be of more than local importance.

HERMAN FREUDENBERGER
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ARNALDO D'ADDARIO. *Aspetti della Controriforma a Firenze.* (Ministero dell'Interno, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, number 77.) Rome: the Ministero. 1972. Pp. xii, 669. L. 7,000.

There are not too many good things that came out of the 1966 flooding of the Arno in Florence. If it is any consolation, we can consider that Arnaldo d'Addario's important work would not have been quite as important had not the Arno flooded. While the cultural world was preoccupied with the restoration of art treasures and archives in the aftermath of the flood, Addario was able to compose this book, which is a landmark in the history of Counter Reformation in Florence. Otherwise this volume would have been published several years earlier, but probably without Addario's penetrating studies on several important aspects of Florentine Counter Reformation.

The book has two major parts. The first is comprised of five long essays dealing with important considerations in the development of religious culture in the city-state in the sixteenth

century: transition of spiritual life from the medieval to the Counter Reformation era, continuity of charitable works, moral and religious problems caused by Church-state frictions, practical reforms since the Council of Trent, and the pastoral governance of Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici. The second part contains 110 important documents, ranging from the letter of Cosimo de' Medici exhorting the bishops of his state to attend the Council of Trent, to a letter from a Florentine resident in Rome to Cosimo describing the auto-da-fé for the heretic Carnesecchi, and records dealing with new and old religious orders and confraternities in Florence.

The work is a result of researches done in preparation for a 1966 exhibition of documents relating to the Counter Reformation Church in Florence. This exhibition was part of a nationwide effort in the 1960s by the Administration of Italian Archivists to collect and properly catalog documents concerning the Counter Reformation in Italy. Several volumes of documents have since been published as a result, notably from the state archives of Florence, Naples, Milan, and Rome. Addario's volume is one of the very best of these. Counter Reformation scholarship has been immeasurably stimulated by these works.

In his essays Addario attempts to confirm, with the support of the documents, some of the commonplace theories about Florentine history. For example, he reasserts that the Florentine state system and Church were endangered by the loss of liberty under Medici domination (pp. 31-42); that charitable works were substantially increased in Florence in the post-Reformation period as a result of the activities of new and old confraternities (pp. 57-98); that the Cosimo years have been difficult for the Florentine Church (pp. 107-61); that the Tridentine reforms were well established in Florence by the end of the *cinquecento* (pp. 177-234); and that despite the initial difficulties of his pastorate, Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici accomplished a good many reforms in the Church (pp. 244-315). Although substantiated by some new evidence and a host of new documents, some of which have never come to public attention before, these are nevertheless conclusions that Florentine experts reached many years ago. What is sorely lacking is an

overview, how all these things fit in with the whole Italian picture (or the whole Florentine picture, for that matter), but that is almost an unjustified expectation from a book of this nature. Eric Cochrane's forthcoming book on post-Renaissance Florence provides such an overview, and it will be a necessary complement to this volume. Addario's work, however, is a monument of scholarship, the only one that contains a systematic compilation of Florentine Counter Reformation documents, and therefore a necessary reference book for all scholars in the field.

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BRUNO CAIZZI. *L'economia lombarda durante la Restaurazione (1814-1859)*. (Studi e ricerche di storia economica italiana nell'età del Risorgimento.) Milan: Banca Commerciale Italiana. 1972. Pp. 349.

Italian banking institutions have what for historians is a happy tradition of sponsoring studies of their country's past. The Banca Commerciale of Milan has been especially active in this regard and has published a number of exceptionally informative books pertaining to the Risorgimento. The latest in its collection is the work by Bruno Caizzi, *L'economia lombarda durante la Restaurazione (1814-1859)*.

In spite of the all-inclusive title of this book, the text does not treat of agriculture, which accounted for the economic activity of some seventy-five per cent of the active population. The author is concerned primarily with the beginnings of mechanized industry, especially in the textile trades, and to a lesser extent with the development of better transportation and with banking. He emphasizes the revisionist position that Austrian rule in Lombardy was not particularly onerous from an economic point of view, at least up to the revolution of 1848. The chief hardships emanated from tariff arrangements that favored Austrian products and tardiness in developing railways. Furthermore, Caizzi places much importance on the conclusion of Kent Roberts Greenfield, to whom he pays a glowing tribute, that the "liberalism" of Lombardy in this period stimulated a desire for a greater degree of material well-being, broke down barriers to economic development, and

encouraged new enterprise. The effects of these changes became apparent in the economic growth of Lombardy after unification.

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CLARA MARIA LOVETT. *Carlo Cattaneo and the Politics of the Risorgimento, 1820-1860*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1972. Pp. x, 138.

This short monograph on Carlo Cattaneo (1801-69) provides the first published full-scale study in English of Cattaneo's role during the Risorgimento. With few exceptions, British and American students of Italian unification have focused their research on the more dramatic and important figures of the period and have ignored the lesser-known participants. Moreover, Cattaneo did not make Italian unification the sole purpose of his life. As Professor Lovett indicates in this balanced, well-documented study—which won the Society for Italian Historical Studies prize in 1970 for the best unpublished work by a young scholar—Cattaneo remained a “reformer at heart,” interested in economic development and education, with a European, rather than an exclusively Italian, outlook. She points out that “he devoted only a fraction of his time and energy to the politics of the Risorgimento” (p. 124). Yet he could not escape involvement, and his correspondence and writings provide important insights into the complicated factional struggles of the national movement. On two occasions, Cattaneo became actively involved: in 1848, when he supported the Milanese revolution and played an important role from March to August 1848; and again in 1860, when he left his Swiss haven to journey to Naples in a vain attempt to influence Garibaldi's actions in southern Italy. Differing with Mazzini and his followers, Cattaneo could not accept the alternative offered by Cavour and the Savoy monarchy. For he believed in “the republic of Rome, in that of Venice and in all future republics which will form the United States of Italy” (p. 93). This faith in the viability of a federated Italy caused Cattaneo's fame to rise in Italy after the Second World War, and his writings became the source and inspiration for many Italian liberals intent on providing their country with a new constitution. But for stu-

dents of Italian history, Cattaneo is perhaps more interesting as spokesman and representative of the enlightened, progressive middle class that, in Italy as elsewhere in Western Europe, was demanding change, reform, and economic-technological advances. For this group Italian unification became a means to bring about economic growth. In his pioneer study on *Economics and Liberalism in the Risorgimento*, Kent Roberts Greenfield pointed out this relationship. The works of Antonio Gramsci and Rosario Romeo make important contributions to this aspect of the Risorgimento. Lovett's book adds further to our understanding of how unification and modernization were but two sides of the same coin for those Italians who, like Cattaneo, were keenly aware of the Industrial Revolution and its impact on the life and economy of their time.

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PAOLO SPRIANO. *Storia del Partito comunista italiano*. Volume 1, *Da Bordiga a Gramsci*; volume 2, *Gli anni della clandestinità*; volume 3, *I fronti popolari, Stalin, la guerra*. (Biblioteca di cultura storica, number 95/1-3.) Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1967; 1969; 1970. Pp. xii, 525; xii, 431; xii, 362. L. 5,000; L. 5,000; L. 4,200.

For years historians have wondered what the history of a Communist party would look like if it were written from the inside on the basis of party archives—written honestly, letting the chips lie where they fell, displaying the bad with the good, the sordid with the glorious, tragic error along with great heroic deed. They need wonder no longer. Paolo Spriano has written a three-volume history of the Italian party that carries the story up to 1940 and Italy's entry into the war. A fourth volume will narrate the history of the party during the period of the war, the Resistance, and the restoration of democratic institutions in Italy. Spriano's history is a major achievement, comparable to E. H. Carr's work on the Bolshevik Revolution in scope and craftsmanship, but far surpassing it in originality of documentation. Spriano is a dedicated Communist, which means that he judges events, policies, and people in terms of how they contributed to the growth of his party. Losers in party struggles

generally get short shrift and are consigned in good Hegelian fashion to the chopping block of history. But Spriano is also an Italian, which makes him a member (and subjects him to the rules and rigor) of one of the most sophisticated and underrated corporations of historians working anywhere in the world today. Thus, although predictable in his interpretations—and how many of us are not?—he is familiar with and careful to consider other points of view. He knows the relevant historical literature in the major European languages and can use Russian sources when Western ones do not suffice. And he treats documents with respect, indicating precisely and scrupulously the sources from which he takes his facts and on which he bases his interpretations. On this solid foundation—composed of party, Comintern, and secret state archives, for the most part never used before, and interviews with many of the participants, which he was in a privileged position to conduct—he was written a history of extreme interest, which follows in minute but never mindless detail the development of the most distinctive party in the West.

Curiously enough, Spriano's first volume, which covers the period from 1917 to 1926, shows the PCI in a less distinctive light than many non-Communist historians are accustomed to view it. Antonio Gramsci's role, so emphasized outside of Italy today, emerges considerably diminished both in importance and originality. It is widely known, for example, that Amadeo Bordiga was the PCI's first leader and that he was noted for his revolutionary intransigency and belief in abstentionism from parliamentary elections. But what comes as something of a surprise is to discover the extent to which Gramsci and the Ordine Nuovo group (Togliatti, Terracini, Leonetti) acknowledged and accepted Bordiga's primacy and leadership during the first few years of the party's existence. When they moved slowly and reluctantly toward a break with Bordiga in 1924–26, it was not because they disagreed with Bordiga's profoundly rigid and erroneous analysis of the Italian political situation—which Spriano correctly labels a policy of "the worse the better"—but because they realized that Bordiga was envisaging the possibility of a campaign against the Comintern (which he

had begun to denounce privately as opportunistic and degenerated) from the outside rather than loyally working to maintain its revolutionary purity from within. Gramsci, on the other hand, had come to believe that the PCI must retain its connection with the Comintern and the Bolshevik Revolution at any cost, even that of subordination to the Russians. His primary contribution during this period, and the thing that distinguished him from Bordiga, was his attempt to discover what Leninism meant in the Italian context. Unlike Bordiga, who considered himself an equal of the Bolsheviks—the unpardonable sin—Gramsci came to understand that Leninism meant the application of Marxism to specific historical circumstances that might change from one moment to another, not the unvarying maintenance of a single line that was right in general but disastrously wrong in a specific instance, as the PCI's had been between 1921 and 1926 when its obstructionist tactics had contributed to the division of the Italian Left and had facilitated Mussolini's rise to power.

Volume 2, which extends the story up to 1935, pursues two themes: the Stalinization of the party and the struggle against fascism. The struggle against fascism implied maintaining the party's presence in Italy, despite the consolidation of the dictatorship, through the establishment of a clandestine organization and the training of new cadres. But it also took place on the level of theory in the form of a continuing effort to comprehend the nature of the regime and its short-term and long-term implications for the future. Spriano shows how slow the party's leadership was to grasp the significance of fascism and its radical difference from the democratic parties. As late as 1934 the PCI still assigned no positive role to a restoration of democracy. Its leaders continued to think in terms of two alternative scenarios: the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (that is, fascism) versus an open and probably armed struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. A third intermediary possibility—the restoration of democracy and the coexistence of the PCI with the other antifascist parties—was discounted to the point that social democracy was labeled "social-fascism" in 1929–30. Spriano argues convincingly that this view was not simply imposed on the PCI by the International at the

Sixth Congress of the Comintern, as many writers have supposed; it had dominated the thinking of the PCI's leaders (including Gramsci) since 1920 and derived from their analysis of Serratian Maximalism, which they had long considered the major obstacle to a proletarian revolution.

Spriano also insists—this time on more ambiguous evidence—that Gramsci (in prison since 1926) and Togliatti (now the party's leader) agreed with the position of the Russian majority during their struggle against Trotsky and the various oppositions of 1924–30. Where they dissented from the Russian majority was in their feeling, expressed by Gramsci in a famous letter, that the struggle had been pushed too far and that organizational measures—that is, forced resignations and expulsions—were not necessary and might have a deleterious effect on the international Communist movement. Between 1929 and 1931 the Russian crisis reached the PCI. During those years five of eight members of the party's Politburo were expelled. First to go was Tasca, the representative of the Right. Then came the expulsion of the Three (Leonetti, Tresso, and Ravazzoli) and the campaign against Silone in the first semester of 1930. The ostensible reason for the conflict was the question of increasing party activity in Italy at a time when the heightened efficiency of Mussolini's secret police had resulted in the arrest and jailing or confinement of thousands of Communist militants and sympathizers. But the issues went deeper and had to do with a rebellion against the leadership of Togliatti, who had identified himself completely with the Stalinist majority in the Comintern. One of the most interesting chapters in volume 2 deals with the attitude of Gramsci, who was in prison during the entire period. Gramsci, says Spriano, was neither a Stalinist nor a Trotskyist. He was critical of the party's leadership in 1930–31 because he had come to believe that the party needed to be more flexible, that it had to learn how “to practice politics” and think in terms of a transitional stage following the fall of the fascist regime; but he never wavered (according to Spriano) in his belief that Trotsky and the opposition were wrong on the substantive issues, particularly the question of relations with the peasants, or in his conviction that the PCI had to stick with

the International, no matter what the short-term costs. This was Togliatti's position, and it is also Spriano's, who argues that in 1929 the battered PCI, a hunted party in exile, had no other choice.

Volume 3, “The Popular Fronts, Stalin, the War,” explores the contradictions created by, on the one hand, the policy of the popular front (officially sanctioned at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935) and, on the other, the oppressive atmosphere created by the Great Purge trials and the Nazi-Soviet Pact. In accordance with the International's new line the PCI tried to learn how “to practice politics.” It signed a pact of unity with the Socialists and entered into limited and sometimes highly polemical cooperation with Rosselli's *Giustizia e Libertà*. It worked for unity in Spain and (after some hesitations) played a leading role in organizing the battalion of Italian volunteers who fought heroically in defense of the Spanish Republic in 1936–38. It even went so far as to talk of “conciliation with the Italian people” and promised to work loyally for the implementation of the fascist program of 1919, an interpretation of the popular front that was condemned by the International in 1937 as erroneous and opportunistic. But the credibility and unity of the PCI was constantly undermined during this period by the reality of Stalinist rule. The Great Purge trials hurt the image of democracy and antifascism that the Communists were trying to cultivate. All semblance of independence from the Comintern was lost. The leadership was overturned by Stalinist fiat in 1937–38, and the policies of the PCI were harshly (and, in Spriano's view) unjustly criticized by the International's Stalinist functionaries. Finally, the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 struck a devastating blow to the party. The PCI was forced to change line abruptly and to deny that there was any difference between the fascist and antifascist camps, which were both denounced as equally imperialist. The leaders of the party in France were either imprisoned (like Longo) or forced to flee to America (like Berti) or Moscow (like Grieco and Togliatti). Nineteen forty, the year with which volume 3 ends, was a low point. For years the party had been almost nonexistent in Italy. Now any real party activity became impossible, as the country plunged into war.

But 1940, says Spriano, also marked the beginning of a new ascension for the PCI. Groups within the younger generation had begun to crystallize and were moving independently toward Marxism and communism in revulsion against the rhetoric and disastrous policies of the regime. Meanwhile, in the fascist prisons, another theater of party activity, the Communists had retained and were reinforcing their unity and educating cadres, which would be invaluable in years to come.

No book I have read in recent years has given me such a strong and concrete sense of what it meant to be a Communist in Western Europe during the interwar period. A history of this scope is of course meant to be more than a contribution to the scholarly literature on Western European communism. It is a political act. Its purpose is to remind the Italian people (and above all, Italian intellectuals) of the presence of the PCI, of its services to the Italian working class, of the extent to which it has put down roots in Italian soil. On this level as well, Spriano's work must be regarded a success. In listing painstakingly the names of all those who died or were imprisoned for the Communist cause, in establishing an honor list of the Italian proletariat, in proving that the fascist security forces regarded the Communists as the number one threat to the stability of the regime, and in showing the wave of sympathy that carried many young Italian intellectuals toward communism in the late 1930s, Spriano has evoked and brought to life the history of a party and a movement that survived the dark night of fascist repression and sectarian error and went on to play an important role in the restoration of democratic institutions in Italy. One can wish that the author had shown greater sympathy for the other antifascist parties and their leaders. One can take issue with, reject, perhaps even deplore his point of view and the narrowness of the context within which he inserts his story. But it is hard to deny Spriano's central contention—namely, that, for all their errors during the fascist period, the first generation of Italian Communist leaders won, through their stubborn intransigency, their dedication, and their courage, the right to represent the Italian working class and left behind as their legacy a party that repre-

sented something radically new, hence "revolutionary," in Italian politics.

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ENDRE ARATÓ. *Kelet-Európa története a 19. század első felében* [The History of Eastern Europe in the First Half of the 19th Century]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1971. Pp. 597. 110 Ft.

Professor Arató's Eastern Europe is as large as can be: it ranges from the Alps to the Urals and the Caucasus, and from the Arctic to the Aegean Sea. It embraces twenty-seven nations divided into four multinational empires, all economically and socially backward in comparison with Western Europe, all experiencing the crisis of the old feudal order and the belated emergence of capitalism, all sharing in the doubtful delights of rising national consciousness. At least one critic in Hungary found the author's creation of a vast East European community artificial and his separation of such relatively advanced peoples as the Austrian and East Elbian Germans, Czechs, Poles, and Hungarians from those in the West, derogatory. But perhaps it is true that even the Prussians and the Georgians had something in common. Arató is a professor of East European history at Budapest University and the author of several respectable books on the nationality question in Hungary and on relations among peoples in the Danube region. He brings to this monumental study his erudition, his knowledge of many languages, his somewhat dogmatic Marxism, and the meticulous aridity of his style. He moves unerringly from economic substructure to political and cultural superstructure; he accounts conscientiously for every nationality in each topical section and subsection of the book. Still, there is no dearth of stimulating generalizations. Agrarian production methods divided Eastern Europe into three distinct regions: first, where the second serfdom prevailed only to be replaced gradually by the "Prussian road to agrarian capitalism," that is, by the large estates, rich peasants, and laboring masses of Prussia, Russia, and the Habsburg monarchy; second, where the Ottoman system of land tenure predominated until the expulsion of the Ottomans (Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia,

and Greece); and, third, where specifically local agrarian conditions prevailed, such as the Danubian Principalities, Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, or the Caucasus. Oppression by the three dominant nations, Germany, Russia, and Turkey, was as characteristic of Eastern Europe as was the oppression of other nationalities by the oppressed Hungarians, Poles, Baltic Germans, or Greeks. Forced assimilation was practiced by all nations who could afford to do so, but there was a world of difference between the ruthless efficiency of the Prussians, who were a great majority in their country, and the relative leniency of the Austrian Germans, who were a minority. There is much food for thought here and a plethora of useful information. The book is unique and should be translated; the translation of the bibliography, annotated and one hundred pages long, is a must.

ISTVAN DEAK

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DIETRICH A. LOEBER, edited with an introduction by. *Diktierter Option: Die Umsiedlung der Deutsch-Balten aus Estland und Lettland, 1939-1941*. Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag. 1973. Pp. 844, 22 plates. DM 96.

The "Dictated Option" is a collection of 332 documents pertaining to the origin, execution, and aftermath of the resettlement of the German minority from Latvia and Estonia at the beginning of World War II. Its compiler, Dr. Dietrich A. Loeber, is a professor of law at the University of Kiel and an internationally well known scholar who specializes in Eastern European and Soviet law. In spite of his involvement in many divergent areas of scholarly interest he has somehow found time during the last fifteen years to create a truly impressive collection of sources pertaining to an interesting, first of its kind, episode in European history.

From a purely professional point of view this collection can serve as a model to every historian and man of legal profession who entertains the idea to create a collection of documents in any area of scholarly investigation. The author's diligence, attention to detail, and scope of scholarship are simply amazing. He first explains his principles of work. The explanatory notes are followed by his thorough introduction, which reveals the political, social,

and ideological framework for the developments that the documents focus on. Every document has been carefully and meticulously annotated. There is a profusion of footnotes and background information. The collection also includes an explanatory map, twelve tables containing 26 interesting illustrations, a list of abbreviations, systematic and chronological registers of documents, alphabetical lists of subject matters, names of persons and places mentioned in the documents, supplementary texts, and a handy bibliographical file with 183 entries. It is unusual to see biographical information attached to every name mentioned in the list of names. One can have a vague idea of the colossal amount of work invested in this huge volume.

In his introduction Professor Loeber reveals the sources of his documents and the reasons for their selection. He discusses the repatriation as a means of imperial policy; the relations between Germany, the Soviet Union, the Baltic States, and Poland; and the repatriation as an instrument of Nazi racial and national policy and as an action of a totalitarian state. Social and psychological factors are also included. Professor Loeber shuns, however, documents and discussions pertaining to the economic impact of the resettlement on the Baltic States as well as on Baltic Germans. Only major outlines have been given. The perfidy of Nazi Germany toward the Baltic States and the Baltic nationals is only partly revealed. In partitioning non-German and non-Russian Eastern Europe among themselves, the Soviets and the Nazis had agreed that the Baltic States would form a part of the Soviet preserve. After selling to the Soviets the Baltic States, which did not belong to him, Adolf Hitler next "saved" the Baltic Germans for "humanitarian reasons" from the threatening Soviet regime to which he had assigned the rest of the Baltic peoples and resettled them not in Germany proper as they had hoped but in Western Poland, where the Poles were being cleared out. It was a purely Machiavellian and imperialistic policy. At the end of the war the duped Baltic Germans had to run for their lives to Western Germany where they were not exactly welcomed. They had been uprooted. They had lost their fatherland (the Baltic States, not Germany) and their possessions, and they had been

forced to act as tools in order to uproot another nation—the Poles. One can only speculate on their future if they had been left in the Baltic republics to share the grim fate of the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, who are no longer seen among the independent nations of the world—the only Europeans to lose their independence in the age of national self-determination of nations.

Professor Loeber's revealing collection of documents, many of which have been published for the first time, may not endear him to some unrepentant Baltic German colleagues, but will increase the already high reputation he enjoys in the international scholarly community.

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NISSAN OREN. *Revolution Administered: Agrarianism and Communism in Bulgaria*. (Integration and Community Building in Eastern Europe.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1973. Pp. xv, 204. Cloth \$8.50, paper \$4.00.

Professor Oren is a political scientist whom historians can appreciate. His work on twentieth-century Bulgaria is not overloaded with abstruse jargon, and he has consistently demonstrated an appreciation for the development of institutions and political movements in Bulgarian society. Although the present monograph is based almost exclusively on secondary works, this method is justified because of the unavailability to the author of archival material and, more important, the nature of the book, a survey of the past fifty years of Bulgarian history (from 1923 to 1971).

The author declares at the outset that he "does not dare to claim" objectivity, and true to his statement the book shows what can best be called a liberal democratic, anticommunist bias. Oren has dedicated the volume to three deceased Bulgarian politicians—Dimitur Gichev, Nikola Mushanov, and Krustiu Pastukhov. These three men were members of the antifascist opposition during World War II, but refused to join the communist-led Fatherland Front. Furthermore, the author views the Mushanov-Gichev coalition (People's Bloc) government (1931–34), which replaced the conserv-

ative Democratic Alliance, as the best Bulgarian government within the period covered. Oren pictures this Democratic-Agrarian cabinet as a harmonious balance between the country's peasant majority and the influential urban bourgeoisie, creating an atmosphere for economic progress and liberal tolerance. It seems, however, that in his effort to promote this view the author has overstated the virtues of the coalition and overlooked its faults. For all its liberal principles the Mushanov government did not hesitate to overturn the legally elected Communist Sofia city government or expel Communist deputies from the parliament. Also, Oren's contention that the People's Bloc was dealing effectively with the debilitating outrages of the Macedonian terrorists is unconvincing. In fact, only the Georgiev government, which replaced Mushanov in the 1934 coup d'état, was able firmly to handle the Macedonians.

On another more recent area covered by the monograph, the author asks whether Bulgaria's total dependence on Moscow has served the state, especially in light of the independent stands of her neighbors. While admitting that the stance has brought real economic benefit to the country from the Soviet Union, he wonders whether a show of resistance might pay off even more. His concluding remarks are that the Bulgarian government will have to adopt either a more independent foreign policy or modify its domestic political-social system to avoid an internal explosion. These conclusions, I believe, are rather naive, as they neglect the real if unpublicized differences between Moscow and Sofia on foreign policy in the Balkans—the only real area of Bulgarian concern. Also, the real alternatives for continued stability are most likely between cultural liberalism and material progress. (In fact the two are probably connected.) The government is desperately trying to improve the latter with an eye to East-West détente. Bulgaria's public echoing of Soviet foreign policy in reality is not of great moment to her citizens.

The monograph suffers somewhat from its survey approach—leaving gaps that the general reader may not be able to fill. This perhaps is in part inherent, but it may also be a consequence of the book's appearance so soon after the author's superior *Bulgarian Communism*.

Certainly the sections dealing with the Communist party are by far the best in the book. On balance, *Revolution Administered* makes a valuable if incomplete contribution to the English-reading scholarly community in a neglected area.

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D. M. PIPPIDI, editor. *Nicolas Iorga: L'homme et l'œuvre. À l'occasion du centième anniversaire de sa naissance.* (Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, Académie des Sciences Sociales et Politiques. Bibliotheca Historica Romaniaae, Monographies, 10.) Bucharest: Éditions de l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie. 1972. Pp. 414. Lei 25.

MARIA MATILDA ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA BULGARU. *Nicolae Iorga—A Romanian Historian of the Ottoman Empire.* Translated by MARY LĂZĂRESCU. (Bibliotheca Historica Romaniaae. Studies, 40.) Bucharest: Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania. 1972. Pp. 190. Lei 10.

The inconspicuous and unweeded grave of Nicolae Iorga (1871–1940) in the huge cemetery on Călea Șerban Voda in modern Bucharest (last seen by me in 1970) may have since been refurbished as evidence of his posthumous rehabilitation by contemporary Romanian historians. Although never actually condemned by Marxist historians in his native land, this prodigy—probably the most prolific historian of all time—has regained the pre-eminence he once possessed under the old regime. Iorga's reascendancy coincided almost a decade ago with Romania's assumption of an independent policy within the socialist bloc. Whereas merely two paragraphs were allotted him in a study of Romanian historiography (edited by Vasile Maciu and others) in 1964, therein described as the promulgator of "erroneous views" (that is, non-Marxist conception), Iorga is now honored by the publication of a hagiographic anthology edited by his son-in-law, a noted archeologist. Iorga has thus become the posthumous protagonist of Romania's current flavor of Marxism—a not unique blend of nationalism and socialism.

Twenty-four prominent contributors joined in a belated tribute to the indisputably greatest intellectual produced by the Romanians. After

studies in Germany, where his interest in the Turks was aroused (see below), he became a professor at age 23. Thereafter no aspect of Romanian history was alien to him. His concept of the historical process and the function of historians involved the endless national struggle for independence, establishment of a national language, preservation of national values, and toughening of national consciousness. To Iorga history had purpose, and he demonstrated this in his numerous polemics and active political life as a xenophobic nationalist. His present successors have resuscitated the former stress on the Latin elements in Romanian culture. If Iorga's arguments were not convincing, then the sheer weight of his output was sufficient to overwhelm his critics—he published about 1,200 books and pamphlets, 13,000 articles, 5,000 book reviews, and a daily newspaper! He found time to be a member of parliament and premier for a brief time. Now he is enshrined among his country's great by some who not long ago criticized his "bourgeois errors" and a few who were his students. Perhaps this rehabilitation will encourage Romania to translate many of Iorga's distinguished studies into English; the only generally available translation is his meager one-volume history of Romania (1925) and his lectures in the United States (delivered in English!).

As distinguished as Iorga's *Istoria Românilor* (10 vols., 1936–39) is his seminal *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (5 vols., 1908–13), which Dr. Bulgaru of the Institute of History in Honor of N. Iorga takes as her special topic in the second work under review. A chapter by Bulgaru on the same theme appears in the Pippidi homage. This booklet examines Iorga's methodology and theses and concludes with this unequivocal paean: "Like all N. Iorga's works . . . the *History of the Ottoman Empire* is not only a work of erudition which is a credit to our nation, but a work of interpretation grounded on profound thinking. . . . Iorga's work is . . . the best history of the Ottoman Empire ever written so far."

These two publications, and numerous others published since 1964, reveal the injustices heaped on this victim of fascist thugs by erstwhile inflexible scholars. One hopes Iorga will not now become a convenient weapon in Romania's resurgent nationalism—a danger no less

threatening than Stalinist-inspired aggrandizement.

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JAROSLAV CESAR. *Revoluční hnutí na venkově v českých zemích v letech 1918–1922* [The Revolutionary Movement in the Czech Countryside, 1918–1922]. Prague: Vydal Ústav československých a světových dějin ČSAV. 1971. Pp. 468.

In recent years Western historians have been increasingly preoccupied with the social consequences of the First World War. A. J. Mayer in his two volumes on the new diplomacy (published in 1963 and 1967) and Annie Kriegel in her *Historie du mouvement ouvrier français 1914–1920* (1964) have each in their own way opened up new perspectives on the war as a stage in the struggle for the democratization of Europe. This democratization affected both Western and Eastern Europe (and Russia) and in each half of the Continent followed its own specific course. A distinctive feature of the East European scene was an agrarian unrest that kept the rural areas in turmoil for three or four years after the war. It is to this movement, as it unfolded in Czechoslovakia, that Cesar addresses himself. He takes a close look at every manifestation of agrarian discontent in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia (Slovakia is not in his purview), and seeks to evaluate its strength and significance. He is particularly concerned with agricultural workers and agricultural strikes. One major conclusion emerges from his study: the agricultural workers, unlike the peasants with small holdings, were noticeably cool toward land reform. The reason? The agricultural workers realized that they lacked even the modern means required for the acquisition and cultivation of land released by the reform. They demanded higher wages, and other problems did not interest them. It would be intriguing to compare this situation with that in other East European countries.

The usefulness of the volume would have been enhanced by some pruning out of detail and by a corresponding expansion of generalizing comments. Likewise, one misses any serious attempt at comparing the Czech and German-speaking regions of Czechoslovakia. The volume is happily free from political ritualistic incantations and the reasoning is sober, but cer-

tain exigencies still had to be met, and it is interesting to observe how the author deals with them. He manages to take his reader through over a thousand footnotes without once referring to Marx, Engels, or Lenin. Then, as if to make up for such gross negligence, he tacks on four footnotes to the chapter of conclusions—the last footnotes of the book—and dutifully fills them with references to Lenin. Evidently the custodians of orthodoxy had to be assuaged.

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DOUGLAS DAKIN. *The Greek Struggle for Independence, 1821–1833*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1973. Pp. viii, 344. \$13.00.

WILLIAM ST. CLAIR. *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. Pp. viii, 412. \$14.95.

C. M. WOODHOUSE. *Capodistria: The Founder of Greek Independence*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 544. \$32.00.

A sense of *déjà vu* is inescapable while reading these books dealing with the birth of independent Greece. The reason is that the Ottoman Empire from which independent Greece emerged was the “sick man” of nineteenth-century Europe, just as the underdeveloped countries now are the sick nations of the twentieth-century. Consequently the trials endured by the Ottoman Empire and its successor states are reminiscent of the trials now endured by the third-world peoples.

In the realm of economics the Ottoman Empire and its successors were the victims of free trade imperialism, defined in 1846 by a Whig member of Parliament as “the beneficent principle by which foreign nations would become valuable Colonies to us, without imposing on us the responsibility of governing them” (cited by Bernard Semmel in *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism* [1970], 8). This economic strategy was implemented by treaties of friendship and free trade, which in practice meant the ruin of the textile handicrafts of late eighteenth-century Ampelakia in Greece as well as of the infant machine industries of Mehemet Ali in early nineteenth-century Egypt. The modern counterpart of free trade imperialism is neoco-

lonialism, the operation of which is occasionally uncovered, as was done recently by the Senate Foreign Relations special subcommittee investigating the activities of International Telephone and Telegraph in Chile. A similar parallel is to be found in the political experiences of nineteenth- and twentieth-century subject peoples. We have been accustomed today to the selective granting of independence to nationalists rather than to social radicals—to Léopold Senghor but not to Ho Chi Minh, to Jawaharlal Nehru but not to Cheddi Jagan. Precisely the same tactic was followed in the early nineteenth century, as the Greek revolutionaries quickly discovered, though the unacceptableism at that time was republicanism rather than the communism of today.

These similarities between past and present are clearly discernible in Dakin's comprehensive study of the Greek war of independence. Like his other works on modern Greek history, this is marked by good organization, clear writing, and mastery of the sources. He interprets the revolution as the first of four wars of liberation, the others being the struggles for Crete, the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, and the attempt during World War I to secure part of Anatolia—an ill-fated effort that did gain Thrace. After an introductory chapter on the economic and intellectual roots of the revolution, Dakin analyzes the circumstances of its outbreak, the party and regional strife among the insurgents, and the decisive diplomatic and military intervention of the European powers, culminating in the convention of May 1832 and the arrival of Otto from Bavaria to serve, "by the grace of God," as king of the new state.

St. Clair's study of the philhellenes in the Greek revolution is noteworthy, like his earlier *Lord Elgin and the Marbles* (1967), for its sprightly narrative and vivid biographical sketches. Numerous monographs have been published on various aspects of philhellenism, and St. Clair has used these together with scattered primary sources to reconstruct the implausible yet fascinating activities of assorted opportunists, idealists, imposters, adventurers, and secret agents. Their collective impact on the course of events was by no means negligible, and so far as the Western public was concerned, they were involved in a cause that roused deeper passions than any similar event

until the Spanish Civil War more than a century later.

Finally C. M. Woodhouse focuses on one of the native leaders of the revolution. In this lengthy study, the first full-scale biography of Count John Capodistria to appear in any language since the German work of Mendelssohn-Bartholdy in 1864, Woodhouse depicts his subject as a tragic hero. A good, selfless man of honorable intentions, he rose by his own efforts and talents from the provincial obscurity of his Ionian birthplace to become foreign minister of Russia under Alexander I and president of the beleaguered Greek state in 1828. Both as foreign minister and as president he failed to attain his goal of an independent and constitutional Greece including the Ionian Islands. Instead he fell victim to an assassin's bullet in 1831, and his country quickly collapsed into anarchy.

Woodhouse attributes the failure to a combination of personality defects and ideological shortcomings. Capodistria was an egotist who viewed himself as a philosopher-king with God indubitably on his side. His ideology comprised a strange and unviable blend of democratic and autocratic ideas. He was sentimentally devoted to the concept of Hellenism but despised most Greeks as individuals. He was mystically committed to the Orthodox Church but had little use for the higher clergy and none at all for the Patriarch. He ardently espoused the principles of nationalism and constitutionalism but was viscerally opposed to revolution. Inevitably he found himself at odds with both the revolutionaries and the reactionaries of his day. Alienated from the world in which he lived, he suffered throughout his life from an appalling succession of psychosomatic ailments that flared up predictably with each personal and political crisis. Yet despite these afflictions, his tenacity and undoubted gifts made him the first Greek in nearly four centuries to play a significant role in European affairs.

In his concluding paragraph Woodhouse observes that "cynical Europeans know well what happened 'when Greeks joined Greeks.' . . . The first Greek President was murdered by Greeks, just as it was Greeks who sank the first flagship of the Greek navy. These are the common tragedies of nations newly emerging into independence" (pp. 512, 513). This commen-

tary is as revealing of the Europeans as it is of the Greeks. "Throughout the [revolutionary] struggle," writes Dakin, "there was a constant attempt to create a conservative, centralized, but constitutional state of which Europe could approve. . . . The idea of dangling a Greek crown before the eyes of Europe persisted from the very beginning to the end of the revolution, there being a general urge to appear as respectable and conservative revolutionaries" (pp. 314, 315). The end result of this European pressure was a divine right monarch from Bavaria and three protecting powers with the right to intervene in Greek affairs—a right that they exercised repeatedly during the following decades. The fratricidal conflicts during and after the revolution derived as much from this great-power intervention as from what ensued "when Greeks joined Greeks." It was the contemporary General Makrigiannis who wrote bitterly of the "enlightened Europeans" who filled the jails and who introduced the guillotine to behead the prisoners. His complaint sounds sadly familiar today, when jails again are being filled and when kings and military dictators are ensconced in Athens by "enlightened Europeans" and by their precocious pupils across the Atlantic.

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DONALD W. TREADGOLD. *The West in Russia and China: Religious and Secular Thought in Modern Times*. Volume 1, *Russia, 1472-1917*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1973. Pp. xxxix, 324. Cloth \$12.95, paper \$5.95.

This is a major work. In less than three hundred pages of rather small print, including some forty pages devoted to a preface, an introduction, and a foreword, and still another fifty pages of notes in even smaller print, Professor Treadgold traces "the encounter" between Russia and the West over a period of four and a half centuries. (Still more impressive, the book constitutes but half the total endeavor, the other half being a companion volume on China and the West, 1582-1949, which lies outside my assignment or competence.) The nine chapters move from "the meeting of Rome and Moscow (1472-1533)," to "echoes of the Reformation and Catholic reform (1533-1613)," "Moscow and Kiev (1613-1689)," "Russia's

quasi-reformation (1689-1761)," "rationalism and sentimentalism (1761-1825)," "German idealism and French anarchism (1825-1855)," "socialism and syncretism (1855-1890)," and "the partial reconciliation with the West (1890-1917)," to conclude with a discussion of "the West and Russian tradition."

As the headings suggest, Professor Treadgold considers the encounter to have been primarily religious in nature for a very long time, and he believes further that even the later secular thought was fundamentally affected by this religious background. This view accounts for the relative novelty of the author's treatment as well as for its richness, for Professor Treadgold constantly discusses persons, usually ecclesiastics, and specific topics forgotten, or at least underplayed, by most other historians. In his reconstruction he relies on Russian monographic literature, frequently expert but generally neglected, and especially on one author, Father George Florovsky, and his book, *Puti russkogo bogosloviia* (1937), that, in their own way, deal with the subject in the large. There are forty-nine page references to Father Florovsky in the index, and on some pages he is mentioned more than once. Professor Treadgold writes in a clear-cut, sharp, at times polemic, manner, and the reader is rewarded with a striking, if at times controversial, account of Russian relations with the West. The standard of historical accuracy is high; there are few misprints.

To be sure, a book of this kind invites criticism. The thesis seems to be overdone, for example, when Professor Treadgold sees the impact of Western secular thought no earlier than the last decades of the eighteenth century. Again, few readers are likely to agree entirely with the author's brief sketches and judgments of very many Russian intellectuals, including highly controversial thinkers and literary giants. More important, Professor Treadgold's fundamental classification of Russians in their relation to the West as blind reactionaries, once more blind Westernizers, and the seeing syncretists who tried to combine meaningfully the best of both worlds is not historically convincing. Such classification leads, for example, to a siding with Tsarevich Alexis against Peter the Great (stressing among other things that Alexis was a patriot, as if Peter the Great were not one). In more modern times: "Dostoevsky

(and for a brief time the group calling itself *pochuenniki* around Apollon Grigoriev), Vladimir Soloviev, Leontiev, and Fedorov might merit such a classification" (p. 202). This is slim and, especially, doubtful pickings. Surely, Fedorov, for instance, could be treated in the same manner in which Professor Treadgold treats Gogol, whom he considers essentially an epigone of German pietism, or Tolstoy, whom he divorces entirely from the Russian past. There might have been only a single, although anything but straight, road open to Russian intellectuals in modern times, not three. But this problem exceeds the scope of a review.

One can only welcome Professor Treadgold's rich book and the discussion that it is likely to provoke.

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Istoriia mist i sil Ukraïns'koï RSR [History of the Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian SSR]. *Khmel'nyts'ka Oblast'* [Khmel'nitsky Province], edited by M. I. MEKHEDA *et al.*; *Cherkas'ka Oblast'* [Cherkassy Province], edited by O. L. STESHENKO *et al.*; *Chernigivs'ka Oblast'* [Chernigov Province], edited by O. I. DERYKOLENKO *et al.*; *Vinnits'ka Oblast'* [Vinnitsa Province], edited by A. F. OLIIYNYK *et al.* (Holovna Redaktsiia Ukraïns'koï Radians'koï Entsyklopedii Akademii Nauk URSR.) Kiev: Institut Istorii Akademii Nauk URSR. 1971; 1972; 1972; 1972. Pp. 706; 788; 780; 778.

As the volumes of this great local history have been published since 1967, it has become apparent that the order of appearance is not due to some recondite political motivation, but simply to the proximity of large staffs of professional historians. Thus provinces with universities were covered early, while, with a few exceptions, provinces lacking major higher educational institutions are just beginning to have their volumes appear. It is sheer chance, therefore, that makes the present group of four volumes particularly interesting from the point of view of early Ukrainian history. As it happens, Vinnitsa and Khmel'nitsky provinces include the heart of the Old Ukrainian territories on the right bank of the Dnieper River, while Chernigov contains most of the oldest settlements on the left bank. Cherkassy province contains fewer really old settlements, but it is particu-

larly important in the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks.

Since I am far from expert on this early period, I hesitate to generalize about the importance of these volumes for the historian dealing with, for example, the period before 1600. It would appear, though, that he would find much useful information, some of it drawn directly from archives. Even the details taken from printed sources are often from rare, obscure works. While the lavish photographs common to all volumes have not usually been significant for serious historiography, in these four volumes they may be useful to those concerned with architectural monuments, including many early churches as well as fortifications and, occasionally, palaces. To my amateur eye the photography does not seem to come up to the best standards of the art. Definition is poor in the full-page color reproductions. The black-and-white photograph of the much-restored Transfiguration of the Savior Cathedral in Chernigov (facing page 97) would have been more impressive if a perspective correction lens had been used. Together with text descriptions, however, the photographs enable one to estimate the state of preservation of the exteriors of the monuments in numerous smaller cities (like Kamenets-Podolski and Novgorod-Severski), which recent Soviet art histories do not cover adequately and where Western historians have rarely been permitted since the 1920s. In this respect the volumes are much more useful than the five that have already appeared on West Ukrainian provinces or the Kiev province volume, equally important for historical architecture but dealing with regions more accessible to direct observation in the recent past.

Conversely, the student of East European Jewry (Vinnitsa and Khmel'nitsky provinces were major centers of the Pale) will find nothing. While I cannot make an absolute assertion about what is not in over three thousand large pages, I did not notice one reference to Jews, even in lengthy accounts of revolutionary activity where they were salient.

One should not draw the conclusion that devotion to the Ukrainian past (paralleling a much-discussed concern for the Russian remote past in Moscow and Leningrad publications), evidenced in these four volumes, outweighs the

emphasis on revolutionary and Soviet history that has characterized the whole series. Indeed, even in these northwestern areas, a relatively small number of villages and cities trace their histories further back than the Pereyaslav Treaty (1654), which constitutes the Soviet historian's guidepoint for stressing the advantages of Russo-Ukrainian union. The evolution of class relations, culminating in emancipation and the three revolutions, occupies a great deal of space. Statistics on official class divisions and landholdings in the 1860s are especially abundant. I noticed no reference to type of village land tenure (repartitional or household), but this may be because the latter was nearly universal in these purely Ukrainian settlements. Treatment of agricultural collectivization seems a little scantier than in earlier volumes (I noticed none of the occasional earlier references to violent opposition). On the other hand, discussion of World War II (partisan activity was higher than average in all of these provinces, and very strong in Chernigov) is more extended. General statistics on contemporary economic and social conditions are complete, although party membership figures are spotty.

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E. I. KOLYCHEVA. *Kholopstvo i krepostnichestvo (Konets XV–XVI v.)* [Bondage and Serfdom (End of the 15th–16th Century)]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1971. Pp. 254.

RICHARD HELLIE. *Enserfment and Military Change in Muscovy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1971. Pp. ix, 432. \$14.50.

Russian historiography continues to show a marked interest in feudal society and especially in serfdom. The literature on serfdom, already considerable, grows larger as new archival sources are uncovered and different aspects of the question are reopened. Two recent works that pose provocative questions on the evolution of the institution are those of Evgeniia Kolycheva and Richard Hellie.

Kolycheva's monograph deals with a topic that few historians have investigated—the role of slavery in the social-judicial process of en-

serfment in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Attention is drawn to the changing status of those slaves, *kholopy*, who belonged to the poorest, lowliest category of agricultural workers and who still constituted a sizable element of the population. Common traits are noted in their position with that of impoverished peasants, who gradually merged with them as serfs. The author finds a number of juridical practices affecting slaves that subsequently became a legal basis of bondage. In this connection great weight is placed on *Russkaia Pravda*, the Sudebnik of 1497, and the Lithuanian Statute of 1529 as sources of enserfment.

Kolycheva attributes the perpetuation of slavery and the declining status of the peasant to a series of class-inspired, government measures that, in effect, expanded and strengthened the bondage process. While the juridical element interests her most, attention is also given to the variety of slave occupations, the fusion of the agricultural *kholopy* and peasantry, and government and religious attitudes toward slavery. Kolycheva has performed the meticulous research on the subject that leads to sounder views of early serfdom. Because of the ambiguities that easily arise in terminology, it would have been helpful if she had enlarged upon the meaning of such terms as "*rabstvo*," "*kholopstvo*," and "*krepostnichestvo*" in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The study would also have benefited from a livelier introduction and from an index. Nevertheless, the author has produced a commendable, scholarly study based in large part on archival material that has clarified many lesser-known elements of slavery and their relationship to serfdom.

Hellie's work extends the study of serfdom into the seventeenth century. He, too, is interested in the long-range juridical process, but to a greater extent in the social forces that led the government to legalize the institution. In a series of well-organized chapters he deals with the rise of "the middle service class" (*dvoriane* and *deti boiarskie*), the legal restraints imposed on the peasantry, and the gunpowder revolution in Muscovy. In the main he takes issue with those historians who emphasize the complex, multicausal origins of serfdom. For him the problem is not that complicated. Military motivation was the primary influence, and within that context the middle service class

played the decisive role. As small-time landlords and the mainstay of the Muscovite army they urged and eventually won government support in securing a stable labor force, that is, serf labor.

Hellie's work is notable for its bold and solid treatment of two major issues in Muscovite history, the change that took place in the army during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the inexorable process of serfdom. He has successfully related the two and supported his arguments with a wealth of persuasive evidence. While some of his caustic remarks about Russian leaders suggest a need for more caution in historical judgment—for example, that the first false Dmitri was "one of the few really enlightened rulers Russia has ever had," that B. M. Khitrovo's major concern "was his concubines," and that Patriarch Nikon was "an egomaniac" (pp. 49, 249)—the overall impression is that this is an important book which provides the single most plausible explanation we have in English of the origins of serfdom. Other commendable features are a useful introductory essay, a comprehensive bibliography, excellent footnotes, a good index, and interesting statistics. This work should certainly be added to any serious reading list on early Russian history.

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V. I. A. BASIN. *Rossiiia i kazakhskie khanstva v XVI-XVIII vv. (Kazakhstan i sisteme vneshnei politiki rossiiskoi imperii)* [Russia and the Kazakh Khanates in the 16th to 18th Centuries (Kazakhstan and the System of Foreign Politics of the Russian Empire)]. (Institut Istorii, Arkheologii i Etnografii im. Ch. Ch. Valikhanova an KazSSR.) Alma Ata: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka" Kazakhskoi SSR. 1971. Pp. 273.

A quotation from Engels to the effect that Russian dominion over the Black and the Caspian Seas and over central Asia played a civilizing role serves as the epigraph to the first chapter and the theme of this undistinguished monograph. Russia's expansion beyond the Volga and the Urals, her acquisition of enormous territory that stretched to the borders of China and to the Pacific, deserves serious and meticulous study of an order not evinced here.

The customary introductory essay on sources and literature tells us little about the former and is unenlightening about the latter. Scholarship is evaluated in terms of ideological standing. Thus Russian "gentry" historians, as well as unnamed and unclassified Western Europeans, are declared inferior to Russian "bourgeois" historians. These, in turn, at least by implication, must be inferior to "revolutionary democrats" such as Belinski, Herzen, Dobrolyubov, and Chernyshevski, though it has never been shown that their works are even remotely related to the history of Kazakhstan.

The best historians are, of course, Soviet historians. As for the others, "foreign calumniators and falsifiers have published and continue publishing dozens of lying books and pamphlets that are far from a scholarly balanced and honest objectivism, numerous magazine articles and reviews in which are spread monstrosously unlikely rumours and versions about the Soviet Union, its history, policy, economic and cultural situation."

The rest is a rather confused attempt to reconcile dogma and reality, an exceptionally difficult task in the case of Russian expansion into Kazakh steppes, where strategic imperial interests took clear precedence over economic ones. The author must also demonstrate that the annexation of Kazakhstan by Russia was objectively good even if empirical evidence presented by himself shows that Russian imperialism was as selfish, predatory, and exploitative as any. To achieve this he must show that without Russian protection the Kazakhs would have been conquered, perhaps even exterminated, by Oirats, Chinese, Kalmucks, Bashkirs, or Persians.

Bits of hitherto unavailable material contained in the monograph do not substantially add to its value. It fails to present a coherent picture of the intricate and complex relations between the dynamic, centralized Russian state and the primitive, disunited Turkic tribes hardly aware of their ethnic and cultural identity. All dealings between the two peoples are presented in a highly abstract fashion. There are no human faces behind the names. The masses, once the fetish of Soviet historiography, are conspicuous by their absence. The prose, heavy with academic jargon, is indigestible and contains pearls such as *aktsentiroval' unimanie*

(to emphasize attention). That the author repeatedly refers to Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich as Mikhail Filaretovich, thereby displaying his surprising unfamiliarity with Russian usage, only confirms one's unhappy feeling about this book.

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VALENTIN BOSS. *Newton and Russia: The Early Influence, 1698–1796*. (Russian Research Center Studies, 69.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1972. Pp. xviii, 309. \$19.00.

The character and role of Western influences on the development of Russian science are still insufficiently known and understood. We have no clear notion of the circumstances that determined the selection of a foreign scientific theory or system and of the consequences of its reception to Russian intellectual life. Mr. Boss's handsomely, almost lavishly produced volume, by today's standards, is a significant contribution to the clarification of one specific instance of this process: the reception of the Newtonian system in eighteenth-century Russia.

Mr. Boss has three main theses. First, direct Russian knowledge of and perhaps personal contact with Newton and his system date to the reign of Peter the Great. Though there is no conclusive evidence, Peter himself may have met Newton. At any rate, the Moscow-born Scotsman James Bruce, Peter's influential aide on technical and scientific matters, knew Newton and his work and acquired a large collection of his writings and commentaries. These books, many of which Mr. Boss has identified in the library of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, were probably available to interested Russians in the 1710s, 1720s, and 1730s. Second, Newtonism did not become the accepted theory in the Imperial Academy of Sciences until the reign of Catherine II. In this respect Russian academic circles were not unlike many German and French ones, for Newtonism was not taken up as a matter of course and it had to compete against the more generally prevailing Cartesian cosmology. In the case of Russia the principal reason was the domination at the academy of German-trained scientists (for example, Leon-

hard Euler) who opposed Newton's concept of universal gravitation on metaphysical grounds. Newton's final victory in the reign of Catherine II was primarily due not so much to scientists as to writers and publicists. It was a familiar story, for we may recall that Voltaire did more to make Newtonism popular in France than the learned commentaries of English, Dutch, and French scientists. Last, Mr. Boss convincingly shows the limitations of Michael Lomonosov as a physicist—a healthy example of sound revisionism, very much needed to put the prevailing Soviet hagiography in its proper perspective. In Boss's considered opinion the reasons for Lomonosov's limitations were his lack of mathematical sophistication and knowledge and his excessive dependence on the metaphysics and cosmology of his teacher Christian Wolff. Lomonosov's pioneering discoveries were in the realm of chemistry, but they were out of line with the then available knowledge and capacities of that science, and for this reason they could not have a creative impact before chemistry had come of age in the late nineteenth century.

Mr. Boss's theses are not only quite valid and important, they are supported by much diligent and novel archival research, a good understanding of the history of science, and thorough command of all relevant monographic literature. Mr. Boss writes well, but he is a bit short on searching analysis and broad conclusions with respect to the relevance of his story to the course of Russian scientific and philosophic thought. The book is not well focused, as Mr. Boss digresses into bibliographic and biographic byways that are not always germane to his main theme. Furthermore, much of his argument and evidence are of a bibliographic nature; he is primarily concerned in tracking down editions and versions of Newton's works and commentaries, identifying authors and translators, and giving precise datings and places of publication. No doubt these are very important matters—and Boss's reconstruction of General Bruce's library in itself is an important contribution to the cultural history of Europe at the turn of the seventeenth century—but are they not best left to specialized articles or notes in an appendix? The main trouble with Boss's fascination with bibliographic detective work is that it seems to imply

a simplistic explanatory scheme: mere possession or occasional reading (and we do not know at what level of sophistication) by a very few chance individuals are proof of "influence." But this does not tell us anything about the nature or manner of the intellectual impact; thus Boss's account of Russian acquaintance with Newton's system in the reign of Peter the Great seems a bit exaggerated and the impact of this acquaintance never satisfactorily described and explained. All in all, Mr. Boss has provided extremely important materials that should eventually help reconstitute the history of Russian scientific thought.

MARC RAEFF

Columbia University

JAMES CRACRAFT. *The Church Reform of Peter the Great*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 336. \$13.50.

The church reform of Peter the Great constituted the final act in the creation or rationalization of the absolutist Muscovite state, the beginning of a new epoch in Orthodox ecclesiastical history, and the setting in motion of "the peculiar and somewhat belated secularization of Russian society." In each respect, however inexact, it also reflected trends common to the larger world of Europe. As such the subject is of fundamental importance to Russian history and of no small significance to modern European history. Yet it has suffered long neglect. No monograph in Russian has been devoted to the topic for over half a century, and in English none ever—until this book. (German scholarship alone, it seems, has sustained an interest in Peter's church reform.)

Mr. Cracraft's treatment of the subject is as exemplary as its choice. Full use is made of the extensive body of available primary material, Russian and foreign, as well as of what sound secondary works exist (most, it ought to be noted, by pre-Revolutionary Russian scholars). Equally valuable in the reconstruction is his deft control of a variety of historical techniques. For perspective the author first sketches in something of the wider European scene and traces the general line of continuity in the ecclesiastical policies of Peter and his predecessors to the eve of the reform. Simultaneously, with the implication that history is made

by "creatures of flesh and blood," Mr. Cracraft introduces brief biographies of Peter and Feofan Prokopovich, and somewhat later of Stefan Yavorskii and a host of lesser personages. The "heart of the book" is for the same reason given over to "the politics of church reform," that is, an "account of the manoeuvres, of the moves and countermoves, of the clash of personalities." Exhaustive detail is less a concern than isolation and analysis of "the decisive moments." To list these would be relatively simple—as, for example, in Peter's biography: visits with Bishop Burnet in London in 1698 and an encounter with the doctors of the Sorbonne in 1717; in "the politics of church reform": the death of Patriarch Adrian in 1700 at a moment of high military crisis and the progressive deterioration of relations Peter suffered with Alexis, his son and heir, and Stefan Yavorskii, his designee to lead the Church during the *mezhdupatriarshestvo*, both confrontations coming to a head in 1718, as also did the conflict between Yavorskii and Prokopovich. But only a reading of the book can convey the author's skill in dramatizing these moments and the conviction that they were indeed decisive.

Mr. Cracraft also devotes attention, better than half of his book, to the more impersonal forces or elements that made up Peter's church reform—for example, the Holy Synod with its *prikazy*, the monasteries, economic, judicial, and administrative matters, and education, welfare, and censorship. In praiseworthy fashion the author maintains throughout a judicious balance between thoroughness and relevance and carefully guides each excursus back to the central theme. Witness, for example, the conclusion to his discussion of censorship: "Censorship in the service of an official ideology, one of the more characteristic features of the modern absolute state, was thus firmly established in Russia in the closing years of Peter's reign. And Peter's action in conferring this power on the Synod reminds us, once again, of what was at once the fundamental fact and the single most important result of his church reform: the transformation of the supreme administration of the Russian Orthodox church into an impersonal department of the Imperial government."

If the essence of Peter's church reform was the deprivation of free action from the Ortho-

dox Church, Mr. Cracraft is careful to add that "Peter intended that reforms in the beneficent or idealistic sense should flow from this crucial administrative reorganization." This is illustrated mainly in his "campaign to banish superstitious practices and to raise the moral standards of clergy and people through improved education." Though Peter registered certain successes, chiefly in the establishment of an episcopal school system, on the whole the moral dimensions of his church reform went unrealized, and in certain instances, notably "the extraordinary injunction requiring priests to violate the secrecy of confession," were even perverted by that very body which his administrative reorganization brought into being. Of all Peter's reforms, Mr. Cracraft concludes, the church reform represents "the most decisive break with the past." "The abolition of the patriarchate . . . left the emperor with no possible rival for his subjects' loyalty. . . . The simultaneous creation of the Holy Synod . . . provided . . . a virtual absorption of the church by the state. . . . And because his church reform was in this essential sense so integrally a part of his contemporaneous reform of the central government machine, in order to undo the former it would have been necessary to undo the latter, and to displace the class which exploited and supported it, a revolution . . . far beyond the capacities of Peter's . . . opposition to mount."

As accurate and thorough as his analysis of the nature and significance of Peter's reform is, it is not wholly original. Some fifty years ago P. V. Verkhovskoi completed what still remains the definitive study (*Uchrezhdenie Dukhovnoi Kollegii i Dukhovnyi Reglament* [1916]), a feat Mr. Cracraft readily acknowledges in his preface and in a brief bibliographical essay. His own study he calls a complement because of new detail and its fresh reassessment. Taking only these two works into consideration, the judgment is exact. But in any larger framework the claim is modest. In the full historiographical context, Mr. Cracraft's book stands as a major work of recovery, a stimulating recall of knowledge too long ignored or forgotten, a fresh rekindling of interest too long astray or dormant, especially for so fundamental an aspect of modern Russian history and so signal an event in modern European history. In the more limited context of English-language

scholarship, it is a pioneer study. And because his account is both sophisticated and elegant, it is likely to remain the indispensable English work for as long as Verkhovskoi's has so served in Russian. It is hoped that Mr. Cracraft's book will not suffer a similar period of neglect. The recent appearance of Peter's *Reglament* in English translation (*The Spiritual Reglament of Peter the Great* [1972], by Alexander Muller), the first since 1729, and the even more recent reprinting of Verkhovskoi's Russian-language monument should help his cause.

ANDREW BLANE

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City University of New York*

PHILIP LONGWORTH. *The Three Empresses: Catherine I, Anne and Elizabeth of Russia*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1973. Pp. x, 242. \$7.95.

The thirty-seven years following the death of Peter the Great are commonly regarded as a time when the Russian throne was held by weaklings: a melancholy collection of six feeble boys and distracted women, all dominated (and used) by grasping courtiers and bureaucrats. Longworth's book does not seek to improve this image. In the prologue the author emphasizes that Catherine I (1725-27), Anne (1730-40), and Elizabeth (1741-61) "were not 'great' rulers." In fact the author characterizes his ladies respectively as "a sot, a sadist, and a nymphomaniac," and he notes that "power corrupted all of them." Why write, then, about such a trio? Because Longworth feels that "however unintentionally [they] helped to corrupt the society they ruled over. Their more publicized, if no more edifying successor Catherine II . . . only built on foundations they had helped to lay." And so, Longworth argues, historians should no longer neglect these predecessors of Catherine the Great.

The Three Empresses clearly aims at the popular market, and its merits are great enough to make us hope sales justify expectations. Longworth writes forcefully and well, his judgments are sober and detached. He makes characters and group situations vivid while not sentimentalizing or sensationalizing them. Longworth focuses upon the lives of his heroines, but he does take cognizance of larger re-

lated political, social, and cultural questions, and, in particular, issues of warfare and diplomacy. Popular as the book may be, things are here for the more serious reader, too: good accounts of power struggles of the period (1725, 1727, and 1741), revealing insights into how important Catherine was to Peter and how tragic his personal life really was, and sketches of Alexander Menshikov and other key royal favorites. Even on its own terms, however, the book would have been strengthened by a more detailed examination of the manners and ways of the court and the court nobility.

Unfortunately, I think, the author did not provide his work with footnotes. They could have been gathered unobtrusively at the back to permit those interested to evaluate the basis upon which Longworth fleshes out facts for his narrative and grounds for his conclusions. The bibliography suggests considerable research (although one misses standard works on Anna by Alexander Lipski, G. A. Protasov, V. N. Bondarenko, and others), but Russian titles should have been given in the original as well as in English. The book is strengthened by twenty-five contemporary illustrations and a good index.

JOSEPH T. FUHRMANN
Tusculum College

V. V. POZNANSKII. *Ocherki istorii russkoi kul'tury pervoi poloviny XIX veka* [Essays on the History of Russian Culture in the First Half of the 19th Century]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Prosveshchenie. 1970. Pp. 276.

V. V. Poznanskii presents a schematic, primarily descriptive review of Russian culture in the first half of the nineteenth century. Social, economic, and scientific developments as such are specifically excluded; the culture described is that of the ruling gentry to which, however, serf artists and the *raznochintsy* contributed; and primary stress falls on literature with forays into architecture, graphics and painting, sculpture, the performing arts, journalism, and popular arts and crafts. The book is profusely illustrated, footnotes identify quoted sources, there are three appendixes, one of which is the peasant poem, "Vesti o Rossii," with comments, and a brief selected bibliography. The author argues that the most important developments of the first half of the nineteenth cen-

tury were the consolidation of a national cultural identity, the formation of a gentry revolutionary ideology, and the transformation of esthetics from classicism to realism. The Great Fatherland War (1812-14) played a crucial role, intensifying patriotic feeling and polarizing the intellectual classes between those whose belief in the people demanded fundamental reforms and those to whom patriotism meant strengthening and reinforcing the autocratic system. The classical mode became identified with autocracy, romantic influences among progressive intellectuals intensified their turn toward the people, and the Decembrist revolt in 1825 marked the definitive break between the autocratic establishment and the proponents of a liberal, enlightened, and humane Russia. After 1825 this polarity hardened while democratic and socialist viewpoints emerged within the progressive intelligentsia, a development that paralleled and interacted with the growth of esthetic realism. The author documents this familiar thesis from literary and journalistic sources while filling out the picture with examples from the arts. So, for example, he uses Herzen to formulate his theme and to support it; Pushkin and Griboedov are analyzed to portray gentry society, while Pushkin does double duty as a spokesman for progressive ideology and a new esthetic; the Decembrists are mined for their ideas on art as well as social justice, and Vissarion Belinski appears as a hero for his advocacy of social relevance and realism. An array of architects and their constructions are introduced to describe the visual characteristics of Russia's capitals and to show the variations on classic motifs; sculptors and painters are classified according to their conformity with academic or realistic modes; we meet a variety of actors, musicians, singers, and dancers who attracted attention; we learn something of theater repertoires, ballet programs, and instrumental music; and there is some interesting material on graphics, especially cartoons on contemporary subjects. The book appears to have been written for a general audience, and specialists will learn little from it. As a survey it is reasonably comprehensive, but as intellectual history it is, at best, undistinguished; at worst, it is tendentious and misleading, while the material on the arts only occasionally rises above the

level of a catalog. The illustrations are, in fact, the book's best part.

RODERICK E. MCGREW
Temple University

ABRAHAM ASCHER. *Pavel Axelrod and the Development of Menshevism*. (Russian Research Center Studies 70; Hoover Institution Publications 115.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1972. Pp. viii, 420. \$18.50.

Just what did Trotsky mean when, on the momentous evening of October 25, 1917, he consigned the Russian Mensheviks to the "trash can of History"? How much self-irony can we legitimately assign to that archhistorian of the Revolution? Did he think that history's "trash can" was synonymous with oblivion, or did he—more cynically—mean to imply that historians spend their time poking around in trash cans? If we give him the benefit of the doubt and assume the latter, then he would certainly appreciate unambivalently his own fate at the hands of Bertram Wolfe and Isaac Deutscher after being so decisively discarded by Stalin. In any case, not only Trotsky but the Social Democrats in general (Western and Russian) are alive and well in the historian's workshop. Abraham Ascher's *Pavel Axelrod and the Development of Menshevism* is a fitting addition to such chronicles as Samuel Baron on Plekhanov, Israel Getzler on Martov, J. L. H. Keep, Richard Kindersley, and Allan Wildman on the revisionists and labor groups, and Richard Pipes on Legal Marxists and Liberals—not to mention the numerous studies of Populism and Bolshevism that have appeared in the last twenty years.

By now we have a sort of Rashomon approach to Russian Marxism. Everyone has his own version of the "incidents": the split in Populism, the founding of a Marxist group abroad, the conflict with the young organizers at home in Russia in the 1890s, the scandal of revisionism, the secession of the Bolsheviks, the quarrels over participation in the war, the dilemmas of 1917. Ascher's problem as a chronicler is that he is almost always dealing with issues that have been covered before, often in more detail, by someone else. He tries his best to keep the retelling to a minimum, but it is unavoidable. On the other hand, Ascher can

deal with Axelrod thoroughly (he has read the correspondence and the memoirs) and with perspective (given the previous, complementary studies); this is clearly *the* Axelrod book. There are new kinds of detail about the movement, such as the squabbles between Lenin and Axelrod over subsidies from the German Social Democrats or Axelrod's childhood in the *luftmenschen* world of the Pale of Settlement. How did the Axelrods feed themselves during those long years of emigration? They manufactured and sold *kefir* (that most delicious of Russian sourmilk products) to the bourgeoisie of Zurich, convincing Bernstein and Kautsky to put up money for the business (it was done by hand, at home) and even to write some propaganda brochures about the curative value of the stuff. It was hard work; and Alexander Helphand-Parvus ("the merchant of the revolution") observed one day to Axelrod, "Pavel Borisevich, you will extract 'surplus value' from yourself!"

Nevertheless, even after Ascher's close scrutiny, Axelrod continues to remain somewhat to the side. His most important role was played with Plekhanov in the founding of Russian Marxism in Switzerland; and although emigration did not really damage the archintellectual Plekhanov, it was bound to erode Axelrod, whose unique gifts lay in practical experience with workers. One does not have to exaggerate the innovativeness of Axelrod's tactics in 1905 (as I believe Ascher does) or his contributions in 1917; Axelrod is simply not central to Russian Marxism after 1905. But we continue to read to the end anyway, because Ascher's empathy, breadth, and sense of proportion has convinced us of the per se case of historical scrutiny. He is a good rummager in trash cans.

LINDA GERSTEIN
Haverford College

LOUIS FISCHER. *The Road to Yalta: Soviet Foreign Relations, 1941-1945*. New York: Harper and Row. 1972. Pp. xv, 238. \$8.95.

Louis Fischer died on January 15, 1970, after having completed the initial revision of the manuscript of this second volume of a projected history of Soviet foreign policy. It is unfortunate that this badly flawed book should

be the last from the hand of this distinguished journalist-historian who was the first of a bare handful of students of Soviet foreign policy to have produced really important works in this arcane and difficult field.

In the first place *The Road to Yalta* is not in any meaningful way an examination of Soviet foreign policy during World War II. Rather it is a history of the relations between the wartime Allies, with far more focus on United States and British policy than on the Russian side. As such it is a book that has already been written several times by others, and in most cases better.

Second, Fischer's interpretations are distressingly one-dimensional and simplistic. Stalin is portrayed as evil incarnate, who from the very beginning plotted to "retain every square foot of non-Russian territory the Red Army conquered in defeating Germany" (p. 139). FDR comes out as a naive dupe who betrayed his high ideals by acquiescing in Moscow's retention of the Polish territory annexed in 1939 (there is no discussion of the historical background to the Soviet claim to these lands), and Churchill as an unrepentant imperialist who was not entirely unsympathetic to Soviet expansionist ambitions. "It was fitting," says Fischer, "that Churchill and Stalin should meet and agree on sharing the Balkans and bisecting Poland. Their practical imperial minds met" (p. 193). The author states that at Tehran, in fact, both Western statesmen "encouraged Russia to expand" (p. 143).

Fischer's basic interpretation is that the Western Allies rolled over and played dead for the Russians. "The Anglo-Americans," he maintains, "allowed Stalin to drive a bulldozer through western diplomacy at Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam and shatter it" (p. 163). Commenting on Churchill's warning to Mikolajczyk that neither Britain nor the United States would go to war with the Soviet Union over Poland's eastern frontier, Fischer observes that this was "the kind of argument by which the government of Neville Chamberlain coerced President Beneš into submission to Hitler in 1938-1939" (p. 160).

The weakness of Fischer's interpretation of our wartime diplomacy—which, granted, is a widely shared one—is that it never comes to grips with the critical question of alternatives.

While admitting that the Allies were usually naive and often unwise in their dealings with Stalin during the war, I take the viewpoint that these faults were not critical since there is realistically nothing the West could have done to have substantially altered the outcome of events in the immediate postwar world. Nor has Mr. Fischer or any other critic of our policy in World War II been able to suggest any viable alternatives.

One might dwell further on the author's penchant for flat assertions ("Stalin killed his own wife") that jar the cautious historian's sensitivities, or on his tendency to launch into rambling and lengthy digressions into such peripheral topics as military history, British aid to Tito, the Warsaw uprising, and Harry Dexter White's forays into the realm of diplomacy. But these are minor weaknesses in a book that is badly flawed in some major ways.

Perhaps one should restrain one's criticism of a posthumously published work when the author did not have the opportunity to complete his revisions, but it is difficult to conceive that further editorial tampering would have been able to rectify the basic weaknesses in this undistinguished book. Fortunately Louis Fischer's reputation is secure enough to be unaffected by this last poor effort.

PAUL ROLEY

Western Washington State College

W. W. KULSKI. *The Soviet Union in World Affairs: A Documented Analysis, 1964-1972*. [Syracuse:] Syracuse University Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 526. Cloth \$17.50, paper \$5.95.

The latest book by the tireless Professor Kulski is what he calls a documented analysis of the Soviet Union in the post-Khrushchev world. It is a massive, well-organized, and skillful compilation of materials largely from Soviet sources that illustrate and illuminate Moscow's perception and assessment of conditions in various parts of the world as well as of the international balance of power. Many of the excerpts from Soviet writings are not readily available in English, in particular those by Soviet academic specialists in international affairs and on foreign areas.

Professor Kulski should be complimented on

his open-mindedness and realism. Compared to his *The Soviet Regime* (1963), the present volume reveals an enviable ability to learn and correct earlier hypotheses: the general trend over the years has been—as for so many of us—toward a somewhat more empathetic, perhaps more benign, but by no means uncritical approach to Soviet pronouncements.

This volume deals at considerable length with central concepts and categories, such as national interest, peaceful coexistence, and international communism. It then focuses on particular areas, such as the United States, China, Western Europe, and the Near East.

For the historian one limitation is likely to be the tendency to consider the Soviet view of a given problem in the post-Khrushchev years as rather static and unitary, generally without tracing variations among different men and over time. A final chapter then updates the entire volume by dealing with the events of 1971–72 (not always from the same perspective as the earlier chapters), but by and large a sense of the dynamics of policy is missing. So are some of the disputes over Soviet foreign and domestic policy in Moscow during these years.

Perhaps this is part of a larger problem. The virtue of Professor Kulski's approach—the authenticity of the Soviet comments that are cited—is also the source of a shortcoming: it prevents him from dealing with problems that are not discussed in the Soviet press, such as decision making, priorities among Soviet objectives, and risk taking, or that do not receive frank treatment in Soviet media, such as domestic economic and technological pressures or Jewish emigration. One might, moreover, have welcomed a fuller discussion of how to tell Soviet propaganda statements from “genuine” perceptions and opinions and the relationship of experts and policy makers in the Soviet Union—in essence, who is leading whom.

Any author is entitled to deal with his own favorite topics and spokesmen. In this work there are few slips and omissions of note, and by and large Kulski's choices are most knowledgeable and judicious, and his comments are full of good sense.

ALEXANDER DALLIN
Stanford University

NEAR EAST

HELMUT GÄTJE. *Koran und Koranexegese*. (Die Bibliothek des Morgenlandes.) Zurich: Artemis Verlag. 1971. Pp. 400. 48 fr. S.

Behind the exegesis of the Koran there lies an intellectual history of thirteen and a half centuries within the framework of the Islamic religion. And for this religion the Koran counts as a direct and absolute revelation; it has an incredible significance for Muslims to whom it gives mental orientation and spiritual nurture. The professional exegesis (*tafsir*) of the scripture is a search for the meaning of the sacred text, carried out in a way that can be astonishingly concrete, and even dull, in terms of language and events, but that also can use all hermeneutical techniques used in the interpretation of sacred writings throughout history. Few studies have been made on this subject since I. Goldziher's *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (1920), with J. M. S. Baljon's supplement *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation (1880–1960)* (1961), and J. Jomier's *Le commentaire coranique du Manâr: Tendances modernes de l'exégèse coranique en Egypte* (1954). For the Islamicist the history of Koranic exegesis is a mirror of Muslim intellectual history. Behind this continuous wrestling with the scripture he recognizes all shades of the mental and spiritual life of Muslims, and he can distinguish a number of basic theological directions that all have their own interpretation of Islam as a faith, a world view, and a way of life.

Professor Gätje makes available here to non-Arabists some specimens of Muslim Koranic exegesis in German translation. After an introduction, examples of such exegesis are brought under certain themes: revelation, Muhammad, sacred history, Islam and other religions, God, angels-djinn and men, eschatology, commandments and prohibitions, and dogmatic statements. The range is closed with examples of mystical, philosophical, shi'ite, and modern Koran exegesis, followed by some twenty-five pages of helpful notes. The selection contains texts from the commentaries of the Mu'tazilite Abū'l Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī (1074–1144) and the Sunnī authority 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar al-Baidāwī (d. 1286 or later). Something is given from the traditional commentary by Abū'l

Dja'far Muhammad ibn Djarir al-Tabarī (838–923) and the more philosophical one of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209); there are also selections from the *Tafsīr al-Djalālain* (late sixteenth century) and the commentary of Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849–1905) and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865–1935). Little is given of the philological side of Muslim exegesis, and the attention given to mystical, shī'ite, and present-day interpretations remains limited. The translations are very precise; for a full appreciation of Gätje's book a reading of the larger study by Goldziher is recommended.

The way in which the Koran itself has been conceived by Muslim consciousness and the function that it has fulfilled in Muslim life and piety could not but remain outside the scope of this translation. The literary historian may ask the use and understanding of Koranic texts in Muslim literature outside the professional commentaries; the social scientist may ask what texts have appealed and have been used in particular circumstances; the historian of religions may ask in what ways the presumed sacredness of the Koran gave it a multisignificative character, and inquire about the consequences of considering the Koran as divine revelation and as the word of God in its literal sense. To provide such explanations a much broader study remains to be done in the future, perhaps by a number of scholars in collaboration.

The book is one of the first to present the Koran through Muslim exegesis in the original sources. An English translation is recommended. The bibliography of Arabic *tafsīrs* and modern scholarship on this literature could then usefully be enlarged.

JACQUES WAARDENBURG
University of Utrecht

SPEROS VRYONIS, JR. *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*. (Publications of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, UCLA, 4.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971. Pp. xvii, 532. \$15.00.

There is no doubt that Speros Vryonis worked hard on the preparation of this book. His purpose was to shed light on the transformation of the territory of present-day Turkey from a

Christian, Hellenistic area to a Muslim and predominantly Turkish country.

The basic premise, which is generally accepted, is that the Turkish conquest of the area began in 1071 with the Battle of Manzikert and lasted up to the end of the reign of Mehmed II (1481). However, the process of Islamization and Turkification continued after the *termini* that Professor Vryonis sets for himself and was not completed until the massacre of the Armenians in 1894 and the exodus of the Greeks in 1920 from the Northeast and in 1922–24 from the rest of the territory. Professor Vryonis sees the continuity of the process, and in the last two chapters of the book he expands into the sequel, the period after the fifteenth century.

Even if the author had remained within his chronological limits, the task that he assumed is very difficult indeed. The Byzantine sources are often silent and vague about events of grave importance, and Oriental sources are far from complete. All sources must be scrutinized before they can be relied upon. Furthermore, parallel historical developments must be studied, whenever possible, in an effort to find missing links in the chain of events and insights into the factors underlying the change. Not only must the situation in Egypt and Syria after the rise of Islam be investigated, but also that in the Balkan Peninsula under Ottoman rule, and even conditions in twentieth-century Turkey regarding the Greeks and the Armenians (and so far as Turkification is concerned, the Kurds as well). Such comparative study leads the scholar into folk culture and folklore, religious syncretism, Christian and Islamic law and social institutions, and ethnolinguistics, among other fields—in plain terms, into a labyrinth of disciplines—and he has to cut across dark and slippery alleys. Professor Vryonis is no doubt aware of the pitfalls when he says that the researcher must be a Byzantinist as well as an Islamic scholar, a Hellenist as well as a Turkologist. He spares himself no trouble to explore those domains of learning that have any bearing on his territory. Nonetheless, the inevitable temptation, for anybody, will be to simplify intricate and interwoven problems in order to understand them, and in doing so, to distort the substance of the factors of Anatolian history.

Such a tendency to simplify appears first in

the use of the term *Asia Minor* in the title and throughout the book. Following William M. Ramsay (*The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* [London, 1890]), who remembered to say, at the very end of his book, that he used the term "rather loosely," Vryonis applies the name *Asia Minor* to the territory of present-day Asiatic Turkey, disregarding the trend to accept the dichotomy of the whole area. The term can apply to the peninsula of Turkey, with or without a slice of Pontos (the Northeast). Helène Ahrweiler stressed the geopolitical differences between the Aegean-Mediterranean littoral and the interior, thereby subdividing *Asia Minor* proper into two parts. Beyond the peninsula, which is considered as an entity, we have the hinterland, consisting of the lands of the Armenians and the Kurds, and also the Southeast (or Northern Syria), including the city of Antioch-on-the-Orontes, which has never been identified with *Asia Minor*. Also, a corner of Mesopotamia, or the Upper Tigris and Euphrates district, can be regarded as a region quite distinct from *Asia Minor*.

If one looked for a term to include all these regions, the Anglicized term *Anatolia* would have been adequate, since it is the Greek word for "east" and was a common way of referring to the lands east of Constantinople. It has the further advantage of being used in Turkish (*Anadolu*) as synonymous with the present Asiatic Turkey. Vryonis uses it erratically as a synonym for *Asia Minor*. *Anatolia* could have appeared in the title, in a laconic rubric, such as *Cross versus Crescent in Anatolia*.

Under a cumbersome and somewhat unrealistic title, Vryonis has put together an enormous wealth of information, supported by numerous and detailed footnotes, including many long quotations in Greek. The book would have fared better with fewer, and with summaries and translations of the original texts. The vast amount of detail accounts for a certain lack of coordination, most noticeable in chapters 4 and 5—"The Decline of the Church in the Fourteenth Century" and "Conversion to Islam"—which present the central theme of the book.

The most important conclusion, underlying the sequence of developments, is the survival of Byzantine culture as folk culture, under the cloak of Islam, which provided the "formal cul-

ture" in Anatolia. In the realm of causality, the material destruction and the loss of lives, together with the weakening of the Church and the loss of morale, are brought up, though the psychological factors are not fully explored.

The book is addressed to a scholarly audience, even to the narrow circle of specialists. Such matters as the practice of citing the titles of books and articles in non-Western languages without a translation; the appearance of the titles of Greek journals in Greek script; and the use of technical terms without explanation, are some of the aspects of its scholarly appearance. On the other hand, there is a lack of editorial discipline: italics are used inconsistently in the case of foreign technical terms; transliterations of Greek words show a tendency to vacillate between *b* and *v*, *v* and *u*, and *u* and *y*; Latin endings are used in Hellenized place names, next to *Ankara* (referring to the pre-Turkish era) and *Bosphorus* (which is a spelling for the tourists); and a number of oversights mar the English text.

There is no bibliography of sources and secondary works. Relevant Greek works by Amantos, Bees, and Diomedes are left out of the footnotes. Arnakis's *Early Osmanlis* (in Greek), cited about a dozen times, bears the relevant subtitle *A Contribution to the Problem of the Fall of Hellenism in Asia Minor 1282-1337* and is number 41 of the *Beihefte* of *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* (reviewed in *Speculum*, 26 [1951]: 483-88).

The book is a tribute to Professor Vryonis's erudition, yet it does not offer anything new of major importance. This does not reflect on the competence of the author; it springs from the nature of the subject.

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JEANETTE A. WAKIN, edited with an introduction and notes by. *The Function of Documents in Islamic Law: The Chapters on Sales from Tahāwī's Kitāb al-shurūṭ al-kabīr*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 202, 200. \$20.00.

With the publication of this work on formularies of sales in Islamic law another chapter of the four extant chapters of the ninth century

Kitāb al-Shurūt al-Kabīr—presumably consisting of thirty-two chapters—becomes available to scholars. In the 1920s the late Professor Joseph Schacht published two chapters on claims for debts and pledges and on pre-emption. The present work is based on a unique Arabic manuscript found at the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul and consisting of 214 folios.

Islamic jurists have always held an ambivalent attitude toward documents as evidence in law. Despite the fact that the Koran exhorts Muslims to reduce contracts of future performance to writing, jurists, in theory, would not admit documents as evidence, presumably because of the possibilities of forgery. Evidence, according to them, consisted either of testimony of witnesses, of admission by the defendant, or of the defendant's refusal to take the oath with the duty to take the oath reverting to the plaintiff. And yet documents of contracts did flourish, as exemplified by extant papyri and formularies found in books like this one. They were considered as a useful support for oral testimony, a means of refreshing the memory of parties and witnesses as to the true terms of contracts and other legal dispositions.

Although the Arabic edition is not accompanied by a translation, the notes, which cover two of the five sections of the Arabic chapter on sales, are so extensive that the need for the translation is not severely felt. In addition, a very learned introduction accomplishes several objectives. It describes the purposes served by written documents and the close relationship between them and the formularies in model handbooks. Notaries, in drawing up documents, had to take into consideration differences between juristic opinions lest the document be declared ineffective by a judge of a particular persuasion. It sketches the history of the genre in Islamic law within the general context of ancient Near Eastern practice. It also makes a detailed analysis of the formularies on sale with particular emphasis on the operative clauses.

There is hardly a mistake or a misprint in the two hundred pages of the Arabic text! This is a very careful piece of work that is of interest to students of Islamic law and legal and economic history.

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HALIL INALCIK. *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600*. Translated by NORMAN ITZKOWITZ and COLIN IMBER. (History of Civilisation.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1973. Pp. xii, 257. \$15.00.

This important work by a leading Turkish historian is in many ways a valuable contribution to the study of the early period of Ottoman history. He tells us how a small band of nomad Turks from Central Asia filtered through Iran to Anatolia, established their stronghold in the strategic northwestern part of the peninsula, and then, by carefully planned raids, effectively weakened the Seljuk sultanate at Konya and the sturdy Karamanid chieftains in the south by the mid-thirteenth century. The coming of the Mongols retarded the consummation of their plan of conquering all of Asia Minor, but inadvertently the Mongols, by practically smothering the Seljuk Turks, actually were of help to the Ottomans, for when the Mongols withdrew the Ottomans moved in and with little difficulty took over most of Anatolia. Of course, all along the Ottomans were also fighting the Byzantine forces, but these were helplessly scattered and weak and therefore could not halt Ottoman expansion. Finally, in a single battle in 1301, in the first Muslim Holy War against Christendom, the Ottoman leader Osman Gazi defeated the Byzantines at Baphaeon (near ancient Nicaea). This victory became a landmark in Ottoman history, and here we have the emergence of a state as the work of once-straggling nomads in the relatively brief period of two centuries.

The next three centuries constitute the author's "classical age." In his detailed narrative on the Ottoman dynasty, the mode of accession to the throne, and the organization of palace officials as part of the central administration, he dwells on matters already known to all serious students of the subject. The successful candidate to the throne felt bound to eliminate all his brothers by having them strangled, and Mehmed III (1595–1606) had this done to all nineteen of his brothers (p. 60). Grand viziers, cautious field commanders, even seyhs-ul-Islam (the keepers of the sultan's conscience on Koranic law) who dared to offer views contrary to the sultan's on state matters were unceremoniously beheaded. In part 3, on economic and social life, due emphasis is placed on Turkey's

importance as a transit route for goods shipped between Europe and Asia and on the growth of cities, with valuable information on local guilds and traders. In part 4 we are led into the religious and cultural life of the Empire. Here the treatment of Ottoman scholarship and literary attainments, though naturally and highly praised by the author, is not impressive. And the claim that the Ottoman Turks have given us a "civilization" is hardly admissible, for where fanaticism was unrestrained, the whirling and wandering dervishes and other mystic orders were given a relatively free rein, and where administrative and combative forces were mostly of slave origin, "civilization" as understood by all civilized people, cannot flourish.

There are fifty-five pages of rich scholarly trimmings. They include a chart on the genealogy of the Ottoman dynasty, a detailed chronology of Ottoman history (1261–1606), a helpful glossary of Turkish terms, elaborate notes to each chapter, a selected bibliography, and a fairly good index. The translators have performed their task well, for there are only few inconsistencies, but their note on italics (p. xii)—that "they are used *only* when a word is used for the first time"—is a bizarre innovation.

A. O. SARKISSIAN
Library of Congress

NIKKI R. KEDDIE, editor. *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500*. (Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1972. Pp. viii, 401. \$20.00.

R. W. J. AUSTIN, translated with introduction and notes by. *Sufis of Andalusia: The Rûh al-quds and al-Durrat al-fâkhirah of Ibn 'Arabî*. With a foreword by MARTIN LINGS. (Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. 173. \$8.75.

MARTIN LINGS. *A Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century: Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawî. His Spiritual Heritage and Legacy*. (Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.) 2d rev. ed.; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1971. Pp. 242. \$8.75.

Sufism has enjoyed a long and exceedingly complicated life. Many of its adepts have taken pleasure, confessedly, in confusing historians with a type of foamy hagiography that would drive even the most level-headed Bollandist into a rural pastorate. The literature on Sufism in Western languages has been the work of assorted Orientalists, mainly British, French, and German (in alphabetical order), few of whom were religious and none of whom was Muslim. The vogue of bogus Sufism among lonely dowagers and young vagrants has recently produced a spate of anthologies of alleged "Sufi" tattle and fairy tales. For those who admire it in all its authentic forms, regarding it as one of the finest achievements of the Islamic soul, as I do, the search for truth about Sufism is a serious matter indeed.

Here three books on the subject are under review, and it should be noted that all three have been published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center at the University of California, Los Angeles, which continues its outstanding work in Islamic studies in fidelity to the ideals and beloved memory of Gustave E. von Grunebaum.

Logic suggests that Keddie's collection be considered first. It is, in my opinion, the finest cooperative achievement in Middle Eastern studies in America in nearly two decades. It is all the more impressive, both as to consistently high quality and maturity, because it is mainly the work of young scholars. The sixteen chapters, many of which grew out of a single seminar and give some evidence of it, are subtitled precisely "Muslim Religious Institutions since 1500." The *ulama*, the "scholars" of the title, get ten of the chapters, the "saints" and "Sufis" six. But that is not a bad ratio of saints to scholars anywhere.

Both parts present a dazzling spectrum, a demi-millennium, from Morocco to Pakistan, and merit detailed review. They also heighten both the difficulty of making such distinctions within Islam and the tensions that point them out. In the first part the contributions of Edmund Burke, III, Richard L. Chambers, and Daniel Crecelius impressed me particularly by providing much new information and balanced judgments on it. There is an emphasis on the unusual in the second part—the Khalwati order of dervishes (B. G. Martin), the Hamad-

sha (Vincent Crapanzano), the drama of Husain (Gustav Thaïs), and Mahdism and related phenomena in the Sudan (John Voll). The chapters on the image of sanctity (Ernest Gellner) and religious observance among Muslim women (R. A. and E. W. Fernea) treat of more general and fascinating subjects, but barely whet the appetite.

If you had to choose one Sufi to be stranded on a desert isle with, you would naturally choose Muhyi al-Din ibn-'Arabī, the *shaikh al-akbar* ("the greatest shaikh"), born in Murcia in southeastern Spain in 1165 and deceased in Damascus in 1240. He was a boy visionary, a frightening twelve-year-old at the temple. He threw the greatest recorded fright into the old philosopher ibn-Rushd (Averroës) one day in Córdoba when ibn-Rushd threw his arms around the already famed "beardless youth" and said, "Yes!" Ibn-'Arabī said, "No."

In the course of his long life ibn-'Arabī met more Sufis, collected more Sufi lore, and simply succeeded so much more perfectly at being a Sufi than the others (for example, al-Ghazali) that naturally we are left with impossible textual problems. No one knows for sure which of the innumerable works attributed to him are truly or totally his. But the two that Austin has translated and admirably annotated bear the highest stamp of authenticity: an autographed manuscript and the lives of seventy-one Andalusian Sufis, the very subject matter of which would long fascinate but eventually bore you on that desert isle. They contain priceless information about genuine Sufism at one of its greatest moments. Take your pick: try the freaky ninety-year-old hermitess in a grass hut ibn-'Arabī built for her as a boy. One is reminded of Henri Ghéon's lines in his life of St. John Bosco: "One more saint, you say wearily. And one more personality, I answer."

Martin Lings's study of Shaikh Alīmad al-'Alwāī, the founder of a North African Sufi *tariqa* ("way" or order) and one of the best known Muslim saints of recent times, is not new to us. It was first published in 1961 and was favorably received by several Orientalists who appreciated the rarity of the material and the skill and sympathy of its presentation. What is new in the second edition and justifies it are two new chapters, the longer of which is based on the shaikh's aphorisms, which the author

paradoxically regards as "dry and elliptical" and placed next to translations of the shaikh's poems to "form a striking complement." It is also possible to regard the poems as dry and elliptical and want to prefer the aphorisms, were it not for the fact that they are often brought down to the ridiculous by translations such as: "Whoso concealeth the secret is himself veiled from it, and whoso divulgeth it is vanquished" (p. 207); "Knowledge without any support to lean on may cause remoteness"; and "Whoso setteth out for God reacheth him not, but whoso leaneth upon him for support is not unaware of him" (both p. 210).

Finally, it is what made this book important in the first edition that makes it important in the second: it is a comprehensive and sensitive study of a great modern Sufi saint in terms generally intelligible to educated readers of English, even those who have never lived in North Africa. The shaikh is the subject. There can be no doubt that we have on our hands a man who felt himself to be the *mujaddid* ("renewer") that the Prophet Mohammed had promised for each century. Lings's photographs and Frithjof Schuon's portrait from memory (facing p. 160) bear an unsettling resemblance to the face on the Holy Shroud in Turin, as unsettling as the presence of any saint is no doubt meant to be for sinners.

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JAMES B. MAYFIELD. *Rural Politics in Nasser's Egypt: A Quest for Legitimacy*. Foreword by GEORGE LENCZOWSKI. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1971. Pp. xvi, 288. \$8.50.

Mr. Mayfield's book gives a vivid picture of local political life in contemporary Egyptian villages. The picture is, on the whole, a discouraging one, yet Mayfield manages to find cause for optimism in the gradual development away from domination of the villages by landlords and notables and toward greater equality and efficiency.

Mayfield's book lacks a close analysis of the results of Nasser's land reforms, which would form the economic background to the political developments he discusses. The author begins by noting that, to transform Nasser's coup into a social revolution, Nasser's charismatic author-

ity must be routinized, and that whether this will happen depends on the villagers considering the new regime's party workers and government officials competent and dedicated to the solution of rural problems.

Mayfield traces the history of the Egyptian fellahin since the early nineteenth century. He notes the gradual growth of large landlordism and of peasant rebellion. He says that the independence granted in 1922 resulted in landlord rule and that peasant living standards deteriorated in the 1930s and 1940s. In 1951 there were fellah risings on several large estates, to get land. The Muslim Brotherhood and religious ideology moved the peasants more than Communists did.

In discussing peasant personality and culture, Mayfield stresses the values of obedience, fatalism, hierarchy, and individualism. The government has theoretically introduced village councils, but these are functioning in only about one-fourth of the villages, while the rest function under traditional mayors, or *umdahs*. The fellahs distinguish sharply between Nasser and his bureaucracy—if he knew, the bad things wouldn't happen. The Arab Socialist Union is active in the villages, but, according to Mayfield, "Many villagers see the ASU as a mutual protection society that provides a means for maintaining one's position in the village or town." The ASU executive committees are usually dominated by traditional landowning families or government employees who have no interest in the problems of villagers.

Government efforts include brief youth training camps, the development of combined units of several villages with common health and social facilities (which Mayfield finds ineffective), and village councils. Mayfield divides the latter into reactionary councils (perhaps forty per cent of the total), passive councils (perhaps thirty per cent), and revolutionary and progressive councils.

Mayfield tells of a successful experiment with rural banks, in which trainees were rigorously picked and then trained for six months. To gain the confidence of the villagers, the trainees started by talking to them regarding their problems. The author concludes by noting the inadequacy of government efforts, and he states that the new structures have failed to generate loyalty. In many new institutions, tra-

ditional norms are being strengthened. Nonetheless, Mayfield feels, a significant start has been made.

The book is an excellent presentation of the myriad problems that still exist in Egypt's villages and of the inadequacy of the government's attempt to break with tradition and meet those problems. Given the even more conservative approach of Sadat, it is to be doubted that Egypt's many rural problems and the strong remnants of a landlord-dominated rural society will be overcome by the present regime.

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AFRICA

CHARLES-ROBERT AGERON. *Politiques coloniales au Maghreb*. ("Collection Hier.") Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1972. Pp. 291.

This volume combines under one cover articles published earlier in French periodicals, together with unpublished essays. The research is original and is written in a smooth, exciting style. Charles-Robert Ageron, whose two-volume *Les Algériens musulmans et la France (1871-1919)* (1968), and *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine (1830-1870)* (1970), attracted a strongly favorable reaction from the scholarly community, strengthens his reputation with this book. One might place him as a leader in the generation of French historians who follow Le Tourneau, Julien, and Berque.

Nine strong chapters examine four themes: "The Origins of French Algeria," "French Colonial Myths and Policy," "French Socialists and Communists and the Algerian Question," and "Algerian Algeria." Each chapter rests upon a careful investigation of the facts, which are then woven into an intelligent and fair-minded account. On touchy questions, such as whether French General Bugeaud double dealt Abdel Kadir in the Treaty of Tafna (May 30, 1837), Ageron probes the negotiations, the two texts (French and Arabic), and the later posture of the two parties. He leaves the original question to the reader's judgment. This reader judges that the phrase "et au-delà," which appeared in the French text but was absent from

the Arabic, was an intentional ploy to justify future French expansion.

The long discussion of the political evolution of Algeria under the Second Empire is broken into nine parts, amounting to some forty-five pages, and is extremely informative. It exposes Napoleon III's lack of will to impose his more flexible personal policy in Algeria. Only one section of the book moves outside Algeria to examine French ideology and action among the Berbers of Morocco. It lays to rest the old "myth" that the Berbers are the world's most resistant and wonderful people.

Part 3 adds considerably to our knowledge of the French Left's posture toward Algeria, even though it is restricted to the detailed study of two short periods, 1895-1914 and 1921-24. Inquiring readers, while satisfied with this fragment, will certainly be interested in seeing the subject updated. Possibly Professor Ageron would consider devoting another book to this theme. A particularly appealing section of part 4, "Algerian Algeria," studies the economic position of the Muslim peasantry living in the Constantine area (1920-35). It proves that they took a much worse beating in every way than their French counterparts. A final forty-page section examines the career of Abdel Kadir's grandson, the Emir Khaled. Two questions provide the structure: Was Emir Khaled the inventor of Algerian nationalism, and did he campaign in favor of independence? In these pages Ageron shows himself to be a master storyteller; his conclusion is negative to both questions.

This is a strong book of articles based sometimes upon the French archives, containing elaborate footnotes uneven in their precision, but with no bibliography or index.

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ASIA AND THE EAST

MARK ELVIN. *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1973. Pp. 346. \$12.50.

JOHN MESKILL, editor, with the assistance of J. MASON GENTZLER. *An Introduction to Chinese Civilization*. (Prepared as one of the Companions to Asian Studies.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1973. Pp. 699. \$17.50. Paper-

bound edition published by D. C. Heath and Company, Lexington, Mass., \$6.95.

The Pattern of the Chinese Past is perhaps a premature book. The author, a talented scholar, skims too lightly over his topic, often ignoring insistent questions. But this study is important. It attempts to build a new explanatory framework upon which a comprehensive history of China can be written.

Why did China become a huge empire that could revive, while its Western analogue, Rome, was only a memory? Professor Elvin devotes the first third of the book to this question. He theorizes that empires grow and endure to the extent that their organizational, economic, and military technology exceeds that of their enemies and overcomes the intractability of their own size. In eighty-seven pages the author sweeps from 200 B.C. to A.D. 1800 and points to key technological assets that undergirded the Empire in different periods, including new weapons, innovations in military organization, effective logistics, and social productivity generally. Few of the facts adduced here are unfamiliar. Professor Elvin's goal is to integrate them into a comprehensive theory. But he acknowledges that the theory is "simple" and "no more than a useful guide" to understanding.

The second section focuses on another question. Why did China undergo, between the eighth and twelfth centuries, unprecedented changes in agriculture, transportation, commerce, demographic patterns, and science and technology? It may be that the author spends too much time describing change, such as in farming or in money and credit, with which most of his readers are familiar, and not enough time defending more controversial and original points. For instance, in the Sung large manors with serfs and serf-like tenants dominated the countryside while great cities provided the environment for creativity and innovation. Rapid economic growth occurred because south China was still filling up; therefore the diffusion of people and technology into this region raised productivity both north and south. Overseas contacts stimulated change. Attitudes thrived that were favorable to science. The spread of printing democratized learning and laid the basis for rapid growth.

The final third of the book addresses the

great question of late traditional Chinese history: why did a society, demonstrably capable of rapid, sustained change, settle onto a plateau of flourishing traditional economic activity, from which, however, it could not engender a new level of industrial technology? Some of Professor Elvin's contentions about this period are most challenging. Serfdom disappeared; manors disappeared. Great cities came to be surrounded by a vast web of market towns. New levels of social and geographic mobility were achieved. The basis of elite power shifted from landowning to bureaucratic position, education, finance, and trade. In addition the author offers his theory of the "high-level equilibrium trap." Leveling off occurred because, in a sense, China was too developed to develop. The transportation system, commercial institutions, markets, and agriculture were all highly efficient by traditional standards. There was no slack to permit rapid growth within the old technology. China's huge size and nationwide market integration worked against her since increases in per capita consumption would have required gargantuan increases in production. Moreover there was little economic inducement to create a new technology, partly because the very perfection of the market isolated the merchants—the main source of potential innovators—from the producers, and partly because economic incentives led people to conserve material inputs and land but not labor.

Professor Elvin wants to study technology as a means to achieve a "general view of the evolution of Chinese society." I am enthusiastic about this approach. The book contains a wealth of observations not mentioned in this review. In short, we should be happy to have this book. But it is a labor unfinished. Too many questions remain hanging; too many propositions rest on feeble if's. The book concludes with the Latin, "Happy is he who has been able to discover the causes of things." In view of the work that remains undone perhaps a small corruption of Vergil would be preferable: "Happy he who may be about to discover the causes of things."

An Introduction to Chinese Civilization is a very different sort of book. Professor Elvin labors at the frontiers of knowledge and writes for scholars. Professor Meskill *et al.* strive to

consolidate the best received consensus about China and to present it to college undergraduates.

The first half of the book is a chronological history, mainly political and social, from the beginning to the present. The author succeeds in writing an intelligent, if thin, historical text. He avoids oversimplifying more than might be expected, calling attention, for example, to scholarly disagreement over certain points. He tries to avoid overwhelming students with detail, reducing "names and dates" to a minimum. For example, his text on the Sung period (A.D. 960 to 1279) refers to seven named persons, two persons not referred to by name, about fifteen institutions and social systems, seven non-Chinese peoples and states, about a dozen places and regions, and ten special terms and titles. One hopes that the joy of undergraduates has not been bought at the price of a history leached of personality and specificity.

The second half of the text consists of ten essays that treat the entire span of Chinese history, each from a special perspective: anthropology, archeology, art, economy, geography, political institutions, language, literature, and religion. Written by established scholars these essays constitute on the whole clear and informative introductions to their fields. There are some shortcomings. The essay on the traditional economy presents an interesting model, but it is too brief, even on an introductory level. It telescopes two thousand years of economic organization into a single period. This is a treatment that many scholars of traditional China would not accept, as they would not agree with Professor Hou Chi-ming's conclusion that rapid change never occurred in pre-modern China. Unfortunately the book offers few illustrations except in the essays on archeology and art, and there are only seven rudimentary maps relegated to an appendix. Still, this appears to be a promising text for introductory courses, offering both chronological and topical discussions and balancing rather skillfully between the demands of simplicity and sophistication, clarity and comprehensiveness.

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MARIANNE BASTID. *Aspects de la réforme de l'enseignement en Chine au début du XX^e siècle, d'après des écrits de Zhang Jian*. (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris-Sorbonne. Series Recherches, number 64.) The Hague: Mouton. 1971. Pp. ix, 321. 38 gls.

It would be most unfortunate if students of late Ch'ing political history were misled by the title of this work into assuming that it is irrelevant to their concerns, for the book is as much about political change and the emergence of a new social class—the modernizing elite—as it is about education as such. Indeed, it is the author's contention that educational reform ultimately became a crucial arena in the struggle for political power between the central government and the new local elite that formed the background to the revolution of 1911. While the work is a rich mine of information on the evolution of the new school system in the early decades of the twentieth century, its real concern is educational reform in late Ch'ing China.

The author argues that the throne supported educational reform after 1900 as a means of self-preservation in light of the tendency toward separation from central control manifested in South China during the Boxer episode. The period from 1901 to 1906 is seen as one in which the throne, enlightened bureaucrats, and members of the modernizing elite like Chang Chien cooperated on a program of educational reform. But, using as a focus the writings of Chang Chien (1853–1926), the scholar, industrialist, and educator who transformed his district in Kiangsu province into a model, the author reveals that throne and modern elite actually had quite different objectives in mind. The throne wished education to emphasize order, stability, and loyalty to the institution of the absolute monarchy, whereas the modernizing elite saw it as an instrument of social and political change. Both looked to Japan for inspiration, yet each saw something different. The throne saw absolute loyalty to the monarch; Chang Chien and others like him saw the power of the Meiji oligarchy within the framework of a constitutional system. Eventually they developed a movement for constitutional government and local autonomy in opposition to the central government (1907–12).

Chapter 3 skillfully delineates how this political struggle was waged over the issue of local control over education.

The struggle for control over education prepared the way for the final break with the Ch'ing in the summer of 1911. The author concludes that, in the end, men of the new elite like Chang Chien emerged neither as monarchists nor Confucian loyalists, but as nationalists committed to the political advancement of their own social class and the modern political and economic ideas that class had embraced. For that reason they were prepared to abandon the Manchus and support the revolution.

This story of educational and political change is developed in the first section of the book, which is intended as an introduction to the nine selections of Chang Chien's writings translated in the second section. Each text is presented in Chinese with annotated translation and commentary. Often the commentaries are longer than the translations. They put the documents in historical context and act as a kind of elaboration of arguments made in section one. The nine texts were drawn from a collection of Chang Chien's writings edited by his son and first published in 1931. The author states that the criteria for choosing these nine out of forty-five in this collection dealing with education reflected a preference for "texts describing the concrete situation or projects actually undertaken [and] . . . the day-to-day functioning of the educational system and the role of the author" (p. 105). What really emerges from a perusal of these texts is the author's preference for those that illustrate her theme of education as a battleground for power between throne and the new elite. The translations are of very high quality, but I am not really persuaded of the value of presenting translations of a small number of highly selective documents, except perhaps as a project for a doctoral dissertation, which this originally was. Nevertheless, as a book, this work is more than redeemed by its fascinating and richly documented portrayal of the politics of educational reform. Moreover, the many maps and tables and the very useful glossaries and bibliography make this an indispensable reference for anyone interested in the history of education in modern China, although the use of

pin-yin and simplified characters may prove distracting for some.

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GEORG KERST. *Jacob Meckel: Sein Leben, sein Wirken in Deutschland und Japan*. Göttingen: Mustersmidt-Verlag. 1970. Pp. 164. DM 34.

This brief biography—the first outside Japan—focuses primarily on the talented Prussian major's role in training the future leaders and shaping the basic organization of Japan's modern army. Although Jacob Meckel was an influential tactician and lecturer at the *Kriegsakademie* and subsequently rose to major general, serving as head of the war history section and deputy chief of the German general staff, his greatest inspiration and achievement lay in his brief tour in Japan (1885–88). He died in 1906 having seen the successes of his students and his handiwork in Japan's victories over China and Russia.

Kerst correctly credits Meckel with a key role in creating the triangular military command structure, which was independent of civilian control, that remained basically unchanged up to 1945. Kerst tends, however, to absolve Meckel of any responsibility for the catastrophe that system helped to bring Japan.

Despite the loss of much of Kerst's materials as a result of the Second World War, he manages to provide extensive documentation from interviews, family papers, and unpublished materials in Germany. Unfortunately, he has only been able to use a very limited number of Japanese sources, made available to him in translation. Thus the important distinction between the Japanese Military Academy (*Shikan Gakkō*), founded in 1875 on the model of St. Cyr with instructors detailed from France, and the Army Staff College (*Rikugun Dai Gakkō*), for which Meckel was hired and which soon took precedence over the academy because of his efforts, appears to have been lost in translation. Dr. Kerst could have been helped by Professor Ernst Presseisen's *Before Aggression: Europeans Prepare the Japanese Army* (1965), which makes considerable use of Japanese sources, as well as French and German.

Kerst's account clears up some questions

about Meckel's life, such as the reason for his early retirement. While rather diffident about the personal incidents that may have brought Meckel into disfavor, the author points a finger at the highest authorities, including Kaiser Wilhelm II, whom Kerst has also blamed for the deterioration of German relations with Japan after Bismarck's departure. An extensive appendix provides some useful material, including translations of several Japanese documents.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON SPALDING, JR.
Herndon, Virginia

ASHIRBADI LAL SRIVASTAVA. *Akbar the Great*. Volume 3, *Society and Culture in 16th Century India*. Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwala and Company. 1973. Pp. xvi, 375. Rs. 20.

This volume completes Professor Srivastava's study of the Age of Akbar. The book gives a graphic description of India's economic geography, architectural achievements, literary and visual arts, social and political organization, intellectual trends, and material progress. While no new information has been added, nevertheless Professor Srivastava's volume for the first time brings together all available information on these topics. The book is therefore truly encyclopedic.

The author, however, is more than a chronicler and a compiler. He has used the available information on the Age of Akbar to argue that under the Mughals a Hindu-Muslim and Indo-Persian synthesis took place, and that Akbar welded the Indian people into a nation. This "nationalist" school of Indian historiography, of which Nehru and Panikkar were the chief architects, has had a legitimate political purpose: to create national integration and secularism in India by using Asoka and Akbar as historical antecedents.

Unfortunately Professor Srivastava has not been able to support this nationalist view. The most that can be said is that Akbar established a political administration that gave India much-needed political stability and her people the possibility of securing economic happiness. But neither Akbar nor his successors were able to seriously reduce the vertical social division that had sprung up between the Muslim and the non-Muslim. Akbar's *din-i-ilahi* ("divine

faith") was not a serious movement but a fad; intermarriage and interdining were limited to the nobility, and these facets of courtly life shed very little light on Hindu-Muslim social relations. Akbar's political ethic was no better than that of the much maligned Aurangzeb: both liquidated their enemies ruthlessly. Professor Srivastava's narration makes it very clear that Akbar was an urbane king and a tolerant person, but to argue that he was a nationalist emperor who had created a nation in India is rather farfetched.

The section on economic conditions is rather weak. It is obvious that the author has not used Irfan Habib's excellent studies of the Mughal economy. Notwithstanding my reservations about Professor Srivastava's general interpretation and the section on economy, I think this is a good book, well worth reading and having.

BRIJEN K. GUPTA
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MICHAEL EDWARDES. *A Season in Hell*. New York: Taplinger Publishing Company. 1973. Pp. 330. \$12.95.

This is "drum and trumpet" history, but it is not even a good example of that genre. In fact it is not academic history of any sort. Rather, it is a smooth pastiche of well-known material regarding the defense of the Lucknow Residency during the Indian upheaval of 1857. The author has employed such scholarly paraphernalia as footnotes and a bibliography, and he has searched some of the appropriate manuscripts at the India Office Library, the British Museum, and the National Archives at Delhi. But what he has produced is a colorful narrative, not an analysis of the siege of Lucknow. He asks no significant questions and provides no answers. Scholars in the field will find the book of very little use.

If the expert will find nothing here of use, neither will that overworked soul, "the general reader," enjoy it. The vignettes are interesting and well written of themselves, but they will be confusing to the reader unfamiliar with the general facts of the Mutiny. The author should have written an introductory chapter on the British in India and perhaps a final one on the results of the Mutiny. Again, the author has

missed a good bet in not drawing fuller portraits of Sir Henry Lawrence, General Henry Havelock, the Evangelical soldier, and General James Outram, "the Bayard of India." It is regrettable to find so little virtue in a colleague's work, yet one cannot help but wonder why Edwardes wrote this book in the first place. Perhaps he conceived of it as the basis for a moving-picture scenario, or maybe it was frankly intended to be a coffee-table item. The publishers have produced a handsome volume. In fact the best thing about the book is the reproductions of nineteenth-century illustrations, which are quaint and charming.

MARK NAIDIS
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UNITED STATES

GEORGE W. PIERSON. *The Moving American*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1973. Pp. xii, 290, xiii. \$7.95.

In this breezy collection of essays Professor Pierson has, in effect, rediscovered the wheel. The central message of *The Moving American* is that "the American character" has been shaped by mobility. Few scholars would disagree that mobility has been at least one factor in forming the American. In fact, there is already a long literature on the subject, some of which the author has ignored. What one misses in Professor Pierson's book is the kind of in-depth scholarly research—drudgery, perhaps—that would analyse the phenomenon profoundly and prove the point conclusively. Instead the author offers occasional cartoons, newspaper clippings, name-droppings of conversation with famous and sometimes long-deceased personages, random samplings from books of familiar quotations, and scattered verses or literary allusions, mostly from the late Victorian or pre-World War II era. Obviously this collection was a long time in the assembling, because the research is dated and the cultural allusions today seem quaint—almost genteel.

Rather than using this apparently long gestation period to bring forth the vitally needed solid research, Professor Pierson seems to have become obsessed with the idea of a decalogue. Thus in chapter 8, "Any 'Laws of Migrabil-

ity?" he offers his own, "decatalogue": "I. My first Law or basic proposition is obvious, and I am quite confident of it. . . ." Is it possible that this confidence stems from the fact that the author derived his own "Rube Goldberg" decatalogue from the same source as the original Decatalogue? Despite his apparent tone of authority, there are some inconsistencies among these "laws" and similar or repetitious assertions in the chapters that follow. For example, mobility means change, but does it also make for conservatism? Could the conservatism stem from a fear of change that caused the migrants to hold onto whatever they could whenever they could? Professor Pierson never really explores the subject, nor does he even seem aware of any possible methodologies for doing so. In another place, he declares that our mobile society "has never received its fair share of balanced, equitable, middle-of-the-road temperaments, but has been shot through with violent contradictions." A moment's reflection might have caused him to wonder, then, why most American political candidates, operating under a two-party system, seek to capture what they regard as the "vital center" of the voting population, in contrast to the many European political leaders who represent a vast array of splinter parties and specific ideologies.

The most interesting chapter in the book is "The Fifth Freedom." Here Professor Pierson points up the ways in which American law relates to mobility and vice versa. In so doing he highlights the fact that America is virtually unique in its lack of legal restrictions on internal migration and, until recently, its loose regulations concerning foreign travel. This seemingly salutary neglect, Pierson notes, has not been an unmixed blessing, for it has led to urban glut, psychos on the frontier, and weirdos on the road.

In this collection of essays that can sometimes be taken only half seriously, I find one persistent and vaguely alarming note, that of a subtle anti-Catholicism. Under "VI. C2. Contamination and change in the value systems," Professor Pierson notes, "First the Brahmins may find themselves outnumbered and outvoted. Next an American cardinal is appointed and the Roman Catholic Church emerges as the largest single church in the United States." Later, ignoring the Spanish settlements in

the West, the French in the Mississippi Valley and Great Lakes regions, the Chicano migrant laborers, the Poles, Hungarians, and Irish of Chicago, and the boys from the "ould sod" who built the Union Pacific across the continent, Professor Pierson calmly asserts, "Ultimately, I believe, it will be found [why didn't he try to find it?] that our Catholics have moved less often, less widely, and less soon than their Protestant neighbors. . . ." Less mobile, hence less American?

And, finally, I wish Professor Pierson had included at least one essay on the "first Americans." As most of the literature on the Indian, or even the archaic hunters, indicates, the first Americans, too, were extremely mobile. Were they responding to the dimensions of the empty continent and hence shaped by the environment in a way that later Americans were not? At any rate, this would have given the cultural historian an excellent opportunity to work in still another old mobility saw—"Injun no lost, teepee lost."

WILLIAM H. GOETZMANN
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Austin

LANCE E. DAVIS *et al.* *American Economic Growth: An Economist's History of the United States*. New York: Harper and Row. 1972. Pp. xvi, 683. \$13.95.

As indicated by the subtitle, this text in American economic history was written by scholars trained as economists and was based upon the use of an economic framework and the application of economic tools. It is a collection of specially written chapters by twelve of the ablest practitioners of the "new economic history," written for text use and based upon their original studies. The two strands of this recent work are found in most essays: extensive data processing and quantitative work (as indicated by the 126 tables) and the application of the theoretical tools of the economist to the analysis and interpretation of historical issues. Some of the essays present new material; others summarize and draw together earlier work.

The basic organization of the book follows the structure of national income accounts. After an initial chapter presenting data on the rate of economic growth, the distribution of wealth and income, and changes in economic

structure, there are chapters based upon a breakdown by final expenditure (consumption, investment, foreign trade, and government), by industrial structure (agricultural, manufacturing, and internal transportation), and by factors of production (land and natural resources, population and labor force, and capital). The remaining chapters deal with technological change and with urban growth and its problems. As in most of the work by "new economic historians," the major focus of the book is on the nineteenth century.

While most of the writing is at a level comprehensible to students with limited training in economics, the book will probably not be a satisfactory text for most courses unless supplemented. The mix of topics and the nature of the economic approach make necessary the use of additional historical readings. Several of the chapters can be worked into general history courses, because the clarity in the presentation of issues of economic and historical importance is not readily available elsewhere. (In this category are, among others, the chapters dealing with population, savings sources and banks, and internal transportation.) The primary importance of this book to both student and instructor is as an introduction to modes of thought and analysis that are most useful in historical studies and are here presented in a manner aimed at students rather than colleagues. When supplemented it is a usable text, while its usefulness to faculty trained in other varieties of historical analysis will make it very valuable reading for this broader audience.

STANLEY I. ENGERMAN
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ELWYN A. SMITH, editor. *The Religion of the Republic*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 296. \$8.95.

At a time when Sydney Ahlstrom's large-scale study, *A Religious History of the American People*, is being acclaimed, this book must not be overlooked. It explores some subjects that Ahlstrom omits or discusses only briefly. More important, its contributors try, though not always successfully, to answer two central questions posed by the editor: How may we describe and how ought we to name "the general American phenomenon of religion?" Among

the volume's four solid historical articles I find Elwyn Smith's outstanding. He explains why the separation of Church from state in New England came with so little fuss. The "republican theocrats" Lyman Beecher and Timothy Dwight believed that coercion in religion is wrong. "God governs mind by motive and not by fiat," claimed Beecher. Society will be held together by its own moral integrity, toward which end Church and state are allies. So these men accepted popular power and the voluntary spirit. Because it helps to clarify a frequently confused ideological setting for religion in the young nation, Smith's essay stands well beside Tocqueville's thoughts on the subject. J. F. Maclear provides a superb historical sketch of American millennial themes since the eighteenth century. He suggests how the history of millennial doctrine has been one of the reciprocal efforts by Protestantism and American culture to penetrate each other. Strong historical support is also given the volume by the late Thomas T. McAvoy's essay, "American Cultural Impacts on Catholicism." James H. Smylie's essay is the longest. It concerns the role of the Protestant clergy in the debates that led to the ratification of the First Amendment to the Constitution. Smylie's analysis of three basic approaches to the relationship between religious societies and the civil magistrate is keen and supersedes any other discussion of the topic I have seen. Yet his examination tends to lose sight of the clergy as they "helped to create the climate in which the amendment was drafted and finally ratified."

Seven essays are speculative and contain varying amounts of historical material. In his chapter, "Jerusalem in America," Jacob Agus dwells upon the modern liberal themes of assimilation and ethnicism and their central place in an America that is, for Jews, "not another nation but the vital nucleus of humanity." Rabbi Agus's confidence in the "oneness of American and Jewish consciousness" suggests the need for a study of religious doctrines, not only of pragmatic social tolerance, common to Judaism, Protestantism, and more recently, Catholicism. Exemplary insight in this respect is furnished by Dorothy Dohen in "The New Quest of American Catholicism," where she ventures that "in the case of Catholics there is an attempt to relate religion to modern culture

in a way that was tried by the Protestant reformers some four centuries ago."

The remaining pieces tend to define and to name rather than to describe the American religious past. Although they thus in part answer the editor's directive and in one case—Sidney Mead's essay "The Fact of Pluralism and the Persistence of Sectarianism"—are good intellectual history, they exhibit a modern scholasticism of the "Church" historian who defines before he describes. For this reason I find James Luther Adams's piece, "The Voluntary Principle in the Forming of American Religion," less than satisfying. J. Earl Thompson, Jr.'s premise fits our present national predicament, but his argument, "The Reform of the Racist Religion of the Republic," would be more persuasive had he been able to use William Freehling's recent article in this journal on Jefferson and slavery ("The Founding Fathers and Slavery," *AHR*, 77 [1972]: 81-93).

Though placed first in the volume, the essays by John F. Wilson and Robert Michaelson are interesting and timely but, again, exercises in definition. By looking for the historical circumstances that have sanctioned "common morality" in the public schools since the late nineteenth century, Michaelson occasionally escapes a confining, semantic point of view. He is particularly instructive in his pages on John Dewey's conviction that the learning process is akin to "getting religion." Writing on "The Status of 'Civil Religion' in America," Wilson dissents from Robert N. Bellah's well-known thesis of 1967. While he agrees that we have "civic piety" in the form of secular civic rituals, Wilson maintains that there is still no place for formal civil religion in our social order. His overall response to Bellah is analytically persuasive, but it still does not dispel Bellah's central point that the social function of religion is that of a "cultural gyroscope" which provides "stable points of reference for human action."

WILSON SMITH

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Davis*

HAROLD KAPLAN. *Democratic Humanism and American Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1972. Pp. xix, 298. \$12.00.

This is another in a long line of critical studies, extending back at least to the seminal

works of Van Wyck Brooks and D. H. Lawrence, which attempt to capture the special quality of American culture through an interpretation of imaginative literature. That speciality, Professor Kaplan believes, is "based on politics." It is the kind of ethical intelligence required to express the nature of a liberal society. He calls it "democratic humanism," and he contends that this philosophy has been given its fullest expression by our nineteenth-century writers. This arguable premise is asserted without argument, though in an apologetic footnote Kaplan acknowledges the "obvious relevance" to his subject of the pragmatic philosophers. Whether James and Dewey may have given this ethos full, or fuller, expression is never discussed. Having stated his premises, Kaplan turns away from both philosophy and politics in the ordinary sense of those words and undertakes a close reading (one chapter each) of Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville, Whitman, Mark Twain, and Henry James. (He also devotes a chapter to Cooper, Poe, and Lawrence, whom he regards as lesser contributors to the subject.) Kaplan's discussion of our classic writers is well informed, subtle, and deeply thoughtful, but it moves on a plane of abstraction and complexity where only the most dutiful specialist is likely to follow.

What is democratic humanism? If the question cannot elicit a precise answer after 287 pages of the most exacting, tortuous argument, this is as Professor Kaplan would have it. One can no more successfully reduce this viewpoint to a series of propositional statements than one can a poem. Its essence is tentativeness, a repudiation of absolutes, an inhospitality to doctrine. Democratic humanism is a dialectical mode shaped by the familiar polarities of nineteenth-century American thought: nature versus civilization, freedom versus convention, self versus society, simplicity versus sophistication, and so on. Kaplan elucidates the meaning that each writer imparts to the conflict and the means used to cope with the fact that it cannot be resolved. A characteristic way out is Emerson's "double consciousness," a mental state as demanding and precarious as that of the circus equestrian who throws himself from one horse to another, or—in this case—from his private to his public nature, from his aspiration to freedom to his acceptance of the constricting

rule of circumstance. Exactly what this delicate balance entails in practical politics is left unsaid, but many analogies to our democratic institutions suggest themselves: the constitutional separation of powers or the tension between minority rights and majority rule, for example. Unfortunately, Professor Kaplan leaves the job of making the explicit connections to the reader. So far as he deals with political behavior at all, he subsumes it under the moral abstractions derived from literature. At no point does he grant it an independent existence. The debilitating result is that the political side of his subject remains wholly conjectural, abstruse, or (some would say) academic. But then he admits at the outset, in what seems an astonishing concession, that "if the faith needed for action in the world is a matter of concern at all," this literary form of the democratic idea "comes surrounded by such sophistication of judgment that to most observers it would appear useless for the purposes of political advocacy or allegiance."

In the end one is compelled to join those observers. If the existence of our system depends on this version of "democratic humanism," it is difficult to understand how it was established or why it survived. But Professor Kaplan makes no effort to show that the American people, or even their leaders, grasped this elusive viewpoint. Can it be that the viability of American society is not to be explained on the basis of ideas, attitudes, or mental states? Kaplan does not entertain this possibility. Politics, for him, means abstract political thought. It has nothing to do with the actual struggles for power and wealth, with social structure, or with the material conditions of life. Kaplan wants to persuade us that a "complex moral imagination" is required to express the "very nature of a liberal society," but as it turns out, that society exists only in the mind. In other words, he fails to do justice to the interdisciplinary character of his subject. In criticizing his work on this ground, however, I do not want to detract from its value for specialists. Teachers of American literature will find fresh insights here, but the need for better ways of relating literary and political experience remains as great as ever.

LEO MARX
Amherst College

LEWIS P. SIMPSON. *The Man of Letters in New England and the South: Essays on the History of the Literary Vocation in America*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 255. \$10.00.

Both title and subtitle are essential to an intelligent forecast of the rich and suggestive content of the ten essays collected and reprinted in this volume. In the author's words, he is "not simply writing about literary persons of one kind or another but about . . . the vocation of letters in America." Later in the book he refines his object to "a complex, at times tortuous, quest for the meaning of the vocation of an American man of letters." In historical terms these studies fall into a special genre—ideals, visions, utopias—of intellectual history. They will remind the guild that the father of American intellectual history was a literary historian. Discrete though they are, they have the thematic unity to justify publication as a collection, and as a collection they exemplify a technique, familiar in the best literary historians, of finding the general in the particular.

Part 1, "The New England Ideal," the briefer of the two divisions, surveys a century of the vision of the republic of letters from Joseph Stevens Buckminster through that extraordinary efflorescence sometimes called the flowering of New England or an American renaissance to its twilight years in the era of William Dean Howells. Part 2, aptly titled "The Southern Quest for Literary Authority," continues this vein with Edgar Allan Poe, who along with Mark Twain is a special case of the Southern writer. But by the time the reader reaches that brilliant and engrossing flourish, "O'Donell's Wall," he finds himself straying into the paradoxes of the Southern literary mind. Thereafter two concluding essays, among the finest in the collection, return to the vision of the republic of letters with new undertones and overtones.

If a cryptic remark in the author's preface means that these essays serve as a preliminary report on what will eventually be a systematic study of the literary vocation in America, then we can live in assurance of a banquet both in substance and style. Meanwhile, as tidbits that add up to fuller fare than the author's modest billing, they prefigure basic themes and interpretations. Among these "cultural regionalism"

informs the studies throughout, implicitly in part 1 and explicitly in part 2. Another conception, more abstract and more difficult to document, touches the crisis of Western civilization, with America as a special case: the apocalyptic vision of cultural mortality. The introduction and embellishment of this theme in the concluding essay, "The Great Literary Secession," casts a bright beam back on the pathway the reader has followed from Buckminster and the New England clerisy to the agrarian manifesto, *I'll Take My Stand*. "Issued by the most intense and coherent literary group in America since the Transcendentalists, this document implies at once the Southern discovery of the crisis of the literary order, the image of the modern writer as the estranged, heroic prophet-priest-artist, and the necessity of restoring the Third Realm—the literary order—as a redemptive force in Western civilization." Willa Cather earlier, Sinclair Lewis later, and William Faulkner at the time were all haunted by the same vision.

From here to the last page the sweep seems inevitable to the final pessimistic pronouncement: "The dominion of literature is effectively gone." One need not agree with the conclusion in this provocative essay to relish the goodies the author serves up in it and in preceding pieces: the commentary on the Southern literary renaissance, the irony in his analysis of the man of letters in the Old South and in the South of Henry Grady, and—all along the way—bright insights, many new and incisive, but even when not new gleaming afresh in the author's crisp statement (such as the aphorism: "Humility was a discipline; so was ambition"). Still the conclusion is there, and readers must contend with it, each in his own way. For one, I cannot accept this view as following necessarily from the premises and evidence. Acceptability may be a function of formulation, a question of the terms in which contemporary man relates to the mystery of the word. Affirmation has not been conspicuous in post-World War II literature, but surely its absence does not portend the end of man, nor the end of the kingdom of letters, which to some must seem equally catastrophic. Nevertheless, Professor Simpson's suggestion of this latter possibility makes his provocative book profoundly disturbing.

AUBREY C. LAND
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LEON FRIEDMAN. *The Wise Minority*. New York: Dial Press. 1971. Pp. xvii, 228. \$5.95.

Leon Friedman is an able civil rights lawyer and a self-styled "amateur" historian. This volume, which is "An Argument for Draft Resistance and Civil Disobedience," is very much "lawyer's history," which is to say that historical data are used selectively to support a preconceived argument rather than rigorously to test some proposition about what happened in the past.

Friedman's theme is that conscientious lawbreaking is a necessary and appropriate part of the American political process. He asserts that "disobedience to the law can be the strongest lubricant of the democratic process" (p. xvii). In our "American-capitalist government" (p. 68) disobedience is the only means that minority and similarly oppressed groups have to secure political redress.

To be fair, Friedman clearly intends to limit the reach of his apparently permissive attitude toward lawbreaking: disobedient acts should be directed only against immoral and illegal behavior; they should be resorted to only after all legal means of redress have been attempted without success; they should be undertaken only by a "defined interest group" complaining about a "specific evil" (p. 177); they should fulfill a First Amendment purpose ("to move the political machine in a new direction by making the public aware of the reach and force of an unjust law or policy") and be based upon "the broadest common moral sense of the people" (p. 50). Friedman further contends that nonviolent civil disobedience is frequently ineffective, for the political system will often only respond to violent acts of disobedience.

The "wise minority" are the conscientious lawbreakers whom Friedman finds have played a major and praiseworthy role in the development of American history. He briefly sketches a variety of episodes that seem to support his case: the Whisky Rebellion, the Jeffersonians of the late 1790s, the abolitionists, farmer and labor revolts of the nineteenth century, and the constitutional protesters of recent years (Jehovah's Witnesses, the freedom riders). He then moves on to the real subject of his book, the draft resisters, and he describes in some detail the resistance movement of the Vietnam years.

None of this will be news to professional historians, as Friedman's account is based almost

entirely on secondary sources. Historians will also be disappointed that Friedman's ideology leads him to tenuous interpretations. He badly underestimates the significance of political abolitionism; few historians of the Middle Period will agree that "conscientious opposition to law was the single most vital force in bringing down the institution of slavery" (p. 29). It is surely stretching the point to contend, of the United States, that "in no other country was government so completely opposed to the laboring classes and nowhere else were so many legal rules established to stop them from improving their way of life" (p. 51). Nor, despite the landholding arrangements of upstate New York in the early nineteenth century, can one describe the American agricultural system as having been "feudal" (p. 78). To the contrary, Friedman also argues just the opposite in one of the most obtuse examples he provides, the organization of the Dark Tobacco District Planters' Protective Association (pp. 81-83). This was no "wise minority" dedicated to higher law, but an openly capitalist economic interest group that used dynamite and night riders to coerce nonparticipating tobacco farmers to join a producer's union. That Kentucky, Tennessee, and the American Tobacco Company finally succumbed to the coercion does not seem to place the association in a class with Theodore Parker, Martin Luther King, and Staughton Lynd.

In the end one comes away impressed by Friedman's earnestness but sorely disappointed by his reasoning and research.

STANLEY N. KATZ

University of Chicago Law School

ERNEST R. MAY and JAMES C. THOMSON JR., editors. *American-East Asian Relations: A Survey*. (Harvard Studies in American-East Asian Relations, 1.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972. Pp. xv, 425. \$15.00.

This volume of essays surveying the state of the historical literature on the field of United States-Asian affairs is the first fruit of the labors of the joint American Historical Association-Ford Foundation Committee on American-East Asian Relations. More directly, it is the written record of the January 1970 conference of that committee held amidst the bougainvillia at the Posada Jacarandas in Cuernavaca, Mexico. Most properly, it is the fullest

statement to date of the long-standing commitment of Harvard in China.

The committee, this volume, both editors, and many of the contributors have Harvard affiliations. Not a flippant acknowledgment, the Harvard-in-China connection is a serious hook around which to hang an analysis of a book of many diverse essays. Harvard, like Yale, has shared in the perpetuation and leadership of America's role in Asian, and especially Chinese, trade and reform since the nineteenth century. Indeed, it might be argued that though more sophisticated and cautious than their historical subjects, most of the authors and ideas represented in this book manifest a continued American-Harvard fascination with things Chinese—perhaps turned toward historiography because of the deep freeze in actual relations during the last generation. If the surest characteristic of American attitudes toward China has been a mythic delusion of grandeur, then it might be that this volume's main thrust is to structure an equally mythic self-impressed importance to the field of U. S.-Chinese studies. The editors sound almost like missionaries; note Professor Thomson's excited exhortation about the field: "The accomplishments are so far minimal; the problems are enormous . . . the prospects are exhilarating."

The problem with the Harvard (read East Coast port city) preoccupation, of course, is that there are other historians who have recently challenged basic attitudes and assumptions about American foreign policy. Such scholars are not present in this volume except to be discussed from afar. It is as if we had a history of slavery written by descendants of the abolitionists, with the planters banished except to be paraded out every now and then by their enemies. Marilyn Young and Burton Beers discuss so-called historical revisionism. There are references throughout to its "ideological godfather," William A. Williams, but no living, breathing such scholar is present to develop his or her or "their" view. Some revisionist premises are articulated. Professor Young asks challenging questions about the apologetics of the editor (Professor May) in discussing something called "a mild case of imperialism." Akira Iriye, as always, breaks new ground in noting the weakness of formal policy studies that shirk the sum total of direct and indirect relations between individual Americans and Chinese.

Waldo Heinrichs suggests the need for more studies of the institutions of American policy making and implementation (for example, the Far Eastern Division and the Navy). Jim Peck (identified as a graduate student and, therefore, a quasi-member) most boldly questions "the very ability of the American system to promote any progressive changes, to find any alternative to forms of imperial control, or to adapt to a revolutionary world."

Yet, with the possible exception of the last, this is still in-house, Harvard Club talk—skull sessions on the opposition—not for public consumption, certainly not for open debate. The volume begs for the introduction of some representatives of another "school"—perhaps Wisconsin (that is, Williams or Thomas McCormick)—not because they are any more necessarily correct, but because they must be confronted directly, not from the corner of one's mind or mouth. The Eastern, port city view of Americans in China is represented here but not analyzed. Perhaps the hinterland, not present in American policy nor in this volume, would tell a more radical, less pleasing, more condemning story. Missing, in the absence of revisionism, is any discussion of the role of domestic American factors, such as economics. Certainly, while economics might be dismissed as just one of many factors in our analyses, it is difficult to get it out of our conclusions about motivation and causation. It is part of the package we call culture (though we can argue what percentage), part of imperialism, even if a "mild case."

When one moves from the general to the specific, one finds there is merit in this mixed volume. The book is a crazy quilt of long and short essays, some of brief compass (Esthus), some of massive scope (K. C. Liu), some of very traditional periodization (Neu, 1906–13), some of innovating suggestions along those lines (Fairbank, mid-nineteenth century). Most of the studies are China-bound despite the title. Japan is given lip service (Schwantes), but there is an unusually successful approach to the Philippines (Stanley). Finally, the essays resemble the AHA's historiographical pamphlets, usually sold at a nominal charge. One suspects the pieces here would be an excellent value if, as working papers, they might be distributed at cost among those interested in the field. The

forbidding price of the volume suggests, not unlike American policy, an underlying desire to make a buck. Indeed, one concludes with an appraisal that the volume is more a primary source, a mirror into its subject, than it is a collection of secondary material. Going back to missionary roots (the subject of the second Cuernavaca conference and the next volume), one searches about here, as in American policy in China, for less prayers and presence and more gifts and service.

JERRY ISRAEL

Northern Illinois University

D. W. MEINIG, *Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographical Change, 1600–1970*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1971. Pp. xii, 151. Cloth \$6.75, paper \$2.95.

During the past decade Donald W. Meinig has produced a series of geographical histories of Western regions, of which his prize-winning *The Great Columbia Plain* (1968) is the most notable. In *Southwest* he is concerned with how Indian, Spanish, and Anglo settlers in Arizona, New Mexico, and the El Paso region have occupied and used the area between 1600 and the present and how they have related to one another in both areal and social terms. While the book stands on its own as a well-written, valuable, historical geography, Meinig conceives of the study as a "supplement" to the many regular histories of the region.

By and large the author succeeds in his task. Although he substitutes a lengthy bibliography for footnotes and often repeats or summarizes facts that one can find in any good narrative history of the Southwest, his conceptual interpretation of the changing patterns of human occupation there is both original and useful. Imaginative maps and charts assist the reader throughout. Further, Meinig avoids the pitfall of having geography determine all, and he does not become enmeshed in the problem of what makes each Southwestern cultural group distinctive.

In some ways *Southwest* is actually the history of a communications grid around which varying human groups have clustered. The Spanish created the south-to-north lines of the grid by their parallel thrusts into the Rio Grande Valley and lower Arizona, while the

Americans created the two east-to-west lines of communication through trails and railroad routes along the thirty-second and thirty-fifth parallels. With the emergence of Albuquerque and El Paso at the eastern corners of the grid and the rise of Phoenix and Flagstaff at the western corners, the author is ready to make his main point: namely, that differently constituted cultural groups living at the corners of a vast grid do not create a unified Southwest. Instead Meinig argues that four subregions—northern New Mexico; central Arizona; El Paso, Tucson, and the southern borderlands; and the northern corridor and Navaholands, containing nearly a dozen subcultures—constitute the real Southwest. Although Edward Spicer and others have always argued that the region is distinctive because of its disparate enclaved societies, Meinig goes further to question historians who have used region to give unity to the Southwest. Meinig's real point is that studies of the persistent pluralism of the Southwest are particularly significant now that Americans have begun to accept the reality of a pluralistic society in this country.

It is possible that the intriguing grid model is less important than the history of human movement and change recorded here. Meinig finds, for example, that between the 1830s and 1870s there was a remarkable expansion of the Hispano population into the vast areas vacated by defeated Comanche and Navaho tribes. The Spanish were in turn overrun by invading Texas ranchers, whose economic and political power far outdistanced their actual numbers. In assessing the impact of the railroads on social and economic life, the author avoids antiquarian sagas of railroad building to analyze the changes in urban patterns and the reinforcement and shifting of the grid. Perhaps most valuable of all is that fully one-half of the book is devoted to change in the Southwest since 1900, highlighted by a major invasion of Anglo dry farmers into eastern New Mexico and the more familiar rise of Anglo-dominated irrigated farming around Phoenix and elsewhere.

Meinig feels that, while patterns that existed in 1900 are still recognizable, there have been some major shifts since 1945 because of the rise of the atomic energy industry, the emergence of Phoenix as a true Southwestern metropolis, and the shifting of the grid to a triangular

form with the appearance of new interstate highways. The author feels that Anglo dominance has now reduced the Hispano population to desperate circumstances, whereas the Indian response to the Anglo has resulted in a "stage of creative tension between vital societies."

Southwest is full of generalizations that might be questioned, but it can be criticized mostly for what has been left out. Throughout the region's history governmental policies have vitally affected the communications grid. Spanish efforts to connect Santa Fe with Tucson and with Missouri and Texas suggest that they had a grid concept of their own. U. S. military policy and Civil War politics affected the fortunes of the grid as much as did geographical and cultural factors. The study tends to evade the question of cause and motivation except at its most obvious general level. While there is a good discussion of the rise of the mestizo during the Spanish period, more recent ethnic combinations are not treated. Nevertheless, this study vividly demonstrates the fundamental importance of applying demographic data and geographic concepts in Western historiography. *Southwest* is less ambitious, less deterministic, and less controversial than Walter Prescott Webb's *Great Plains*, but like that work it shows how an imaginative, broad-ranging, and, in this case, scientific study can deepen our understanding of both regional and national history.

HOWARD R. LAMAR
Yale University

HUGH F. RANKIN. *The North Carolina Continentals*. (Sponsored by the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 428. \$12.50.

This is a splendid book, ranking in quality of scholarship and writing with Christopher Ward's superb study of the Delaware Line. It is actually a greater achievement because the tangled state of political, economic, and administrative affairs in North Carolina—an area of deeply divided loyalties—presented more serious problems of scholarly research, analysis, and exposition than confronted Ward in Delaware.

North Carolina's military contribution to the Revolution was limited by the paucity of population, the poverty of the state, and the large number of Tories. Revolutionary war militia had a bad reputation for reliability, training, and discipline; Nathanael Greene exceeded even Washington in his condemnation of them, particularly the North Carolina militia, while he felt the state's Continentals too few and at times barely more dependable than militia.

Actually the early Continentals were a different group and far more impressive than the Line of 1780-81. North Carolina Continentals helped repulse British diversionary attacks on Charleston in 1776 and won General Charles Lee's praise as "admirable soldiers." A brigade stood in reserve at the Brandywine in 1777, and when Washington's offensive was blunted at Germantown it covered the retreat with a stubborn resistance. North Carolina Continentals shivered and sickened and trained with the rest of the army at Valley Forge and sweltered in the heat at Monmouth in 1778 where they fumed at Lee's order to retreat but withdrew without panic. A number of them later served as garrison troops under Benedict Arnold at Philadelphia. Two companies formed part of Wayne's assault column at Stony Point in 1779. Ordered south, the North Carolinians joined General Lincoln in his defense of Charleston and were captured when he surrendered the city to Sir Henry Clinton in May 1780.

A serious consequence of this disaster was that when Greene, succeeding General Horatio Gates, took the Southern army into its numerous unsuccessful battles he was forced to rely chiefly on Carolina militia and Continentals from Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. Though a new North Carolina Line was formed, it remained small, ill trained, inadequately equipped, and so wretchedly clothed that many men were barefoot and literally half-naked. The state government, impoverished though it was, faltered badly in support of its Continentals, while most North Carolina men, largely farmers fearful for their crops and for their families and houses with so many Tories loose, refused to volunteer for the Continental term of service.

Mr. Rankin's skill in portraying the prob-

lems and accomplishments of the North Carolina Continentals is of a very high order.

WILLARD M. WALLACE
Wesleyan University

Don Francisco de Paula Marin: A Biography, by ROSS H. GAST; *The Letters and Journal of Francisco de Paula Marin*, edited by AGNES C. CONRAD. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, for the Hawaiian Historical Society. 1973. Pp. 344. \$8.50.

Ross H. Gast, an agricultural expert and editor turned historian, used Robert Crichton Wyllie's "Extracts from the Marin Journal" and every other available source in Honolulu and the United States for his biography. Marin, a sailor in the Spanish naval service at Nootka, defected and in 1793 or 1794 began his residency of nearly forty years in Honolulu. There he became Hawaii's first gentleman farmer as well as interpreter, accountant, and advisor to Kamehameha I.

Marin was most important as a catalyst during a complicated era for the Hawaiian people. Gast, therefore, attempts to interpret the sources that exist—the journal covers only sixteen years—within the context of the history of the period and to separate the man from the legend.

Agnes Conrad, archivist of the state of Hawaii, while performing much of the research in the archives for the biography, is exclusively responsible for editing the letters and journal of Francisco de Paula Marin. The Marin collection was acquired by the Hawaiian government in 1847, and the Spanish letters were translated for the archives in 1930. Miss Conrad edited thirty-six that contribute to the story of Marin, annotating each.

The journal was translated in 1844 by R. C. Wyllie, minister of foreign affairs, in the form of extracts, generally phrased in his own words. This manuscript passed through several hands before its purchase by the Archives of Hawaii in 1933. Thereafter Maude Jones, archivist, "translated" Wyllie's barely legible version into readable English. For an interpretation of this, Agnes Conrad prepared 106 explanatory notes, a sixteen-page compilation of names of persons mentioned in the journal or the letters, with information necessary to relate them to Marin,

and a bibliography from which much of the biographical information was obtained.

The combined efforts of Ross Gast and Agnes Conrad produced perhaps as definitive a treatment of an early controversial Spanish resident of Honolulu as historians should expect.

MERZE TATE
Howard University

RAYMOND LEE MUNCY. *Sex and Marriage in Utopian Communities: 19th-Century America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1973. Pp. 275. \$10.00.

This book provides a useful account of family and sexual practices in assorted nineteenth-century "utopian communities." Descriptions of such practices are organized in a semichronological sequence for each community in an attempt to answer the author's central question: "What institutions and what modes of action were developed in order to ameliorate the difficulty posed by the separate family within the communal arrangement?"

In the absence of a theoretical or working definition of "utopian community," there appears to be no rationale for the selection of the particular communities studied except for their "original and unique approach" to sex and marriage. There is no opportunity, therefore, to compare the communities studied with the utopian communities that retained "normal" familial arrangements. In the case of the Mormons the author confuses "utopia" with "millennium." It is not clear whether the Mormons are included as a "utopian community" or because of their practice of polygamy.

The book lacks an overall interpretation of the role of the traditional family or of alternative forms of familial organizations in utopian societies. The one conclusion that it offers is taxonomic rather than analytical: communities that abolished or modified the private, nuclear family lasted longer than communities that retained it. Throughout the book one wonders whether individuals chose utopia because it provided escapes from the traditional family, or whether they accepted alternative forms of familial and sexual practices as the inevitable concession to "utopian" living. Individual and group behavior is often explained by clichés: Mother Ann Lee was afraid of her own sexual

impulses, "which may have been extremely powerful," and therefore institutionalized celibacy among the Shakers; Mormon women did not demand the same sexual variety that men enjoyed, because apparently they were not "particularly sensuous." Women were less supportive of utopian ways of life than men, because utopia challenged their traditional role, "which was more in keeping with their maternal instincts."

The major weakness of the book is in the isolation of its subject matter from the social and cultural context of the period. Family experience and ideology in a utopian community appears to be esoteric, unless it is interpreted in relationship to familial ideology and behavior in the larger society. Did attitudes toward the family and sexuality in certain utopian communities often reflect an intensified version of changes and crises in sexual behavior in nineteenth-century society?

The book's simplistic concentration on the pervasiveness of the conflict between the "individual" family and the communal family in utopia obscures several complex relationships between the two: while the traditional family was considered a threat to utopia in some communities, it was consciously used as a means for the preservation of utopia in others. John Demos and Kenneth Lockridge have shown that in Puritan communities the family was expected to serve as the microcosmic cell of the ideal society. The emergence of the "individualistic" private family in the early nineteenth century did not eradicate the notion of the family as an instrument of the ideal society. Many nineteenth-century reformers such as Bronson Alcott came to view the family itself as a utopian retreat from society.

While the nineteenth-century utopian communities have received extensive treatment in intellectual history, their social history is still unexplored. Similarly, the history of the family in nineteenth-century America is only now beginning to emerge from limbo. It would be unfair, therefore, to expect this book to provide a definitive interpretation of a complex subject. One could have hoped, however, for a more imaginative probing of the meaning of the fascinating data gathered.

TAMARA K. HAREVEN
Clark University

JAMES F. HOPKINS *et al.*, editors. *The Papers of Henry Clay*. Volume 4, *Secretary of State, 1825*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1972. Pp. xii, 991. \$20.00.

The single year covered by this fourth volume of the *Papers of Henry Clay* was a year of decision for the Kentuckian and a point of new departure for the country. Clay's letters in the early weeks of 1825 show him not so much making up his mind to support Adams for the presidency—he could not, consistently with his own record, have supported either Jackson or Crawford—as sounding out opinion as to whether he should join an Adams administration. Anticipating criticism either way, he chose the State Department, which seemed to offer most for his own future. His careful and masterly address to his former constituents, dated three weeks after he had taken office, occupies more than twenty pages of the volume, and so far as Clay is concerned, disposes of the subject. The responses were largely favorable, but Clay knew well that those who disapproved his course did not write, or if they did, were equivocal.

As secretary of state, Clay's stature undoubtedly rose. He quickly mastered his new role, and his long, detailed instructions to U. S. ministers abroad are in effect skillful summaries of relations with the various nations concerned. It is at this point that the editors have introduced a welcome shortcut. The published correspondence for each day is followed by incisive summaries of instructions and dispatches, applications, recommendations, and miscellaneous letters of a routine nature. These are printed in smaller type for quick recognition. The greater selectivity thus made possible for the documents published in full both aids the reader by giving him the benefit of the informed judgment of the editors and keeps the volume, large as it is, within bounds.

Aside from a small number of family and business letters, many separate threads run through the year. There are solicitations for jobs, not all of them diplomatic, and applications for the public printing. There is pressure, often accompanied by implied promises or threats, in behalf of public improvements, the tariff, or some other form of government largess. And there is Clay's adroit use of these bits and pieces to revive and rejuvenate the party

system. Beyond Clay's impact upon foreign relations, the correspondence in this volume underscores the rise of an opposition to the Adams administration, directed primarily at the Kentuckian, who was more vulnerable than the president. We see former political friends, most notable of them Amos Kendall, slipping away as Jackson's popularity rises, and we see Clay consciously using the powers of his office and the prestige of his person to build a party. The tools were patronage and promises, overt or implied. Clay clearly regarded his role as going well beyond foreign affairs. He functioned in his first year in the State Department as an unofficial prime minister, and it is not always evident that he was taking the president into his confidence.

Professor Hopkins and his staff have resolved the problem of sheer bulk, in part by their summaries of routine official correspondence, but in part also by reducing the coverage of the volumes for the Adams administration from two to one year each. It remains to be seen whether the solution has been taken at the expense of balance, giving disproportionate weight to the State Department years. It is to be hoped, now that problems of organization have been settled, that the interval between volumes will not again be as prolonged as that between volumes three and four.

The series, now extended from the contemplated ten to twelve volumes, continues to be well and usefully edited, from any point of view a major contribution to the literature of the crucial first half of the nineteenth century.

CHARLES M. WILTSE
Dartmouth College

ROBERT M. MENNEL. *Thorns & Thistles: Juvenile Delinquents in the United States, 1825-1940*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for the University of New Hampshire. 1973. Pp. xxvii, 231. \$10.00.

If a brief survey of an unexplored field like delinquency in America is to succeed, it must either set forward a broad interpretive framework, no matter how tentative, or vividly pose the tough questions that other investigators must confront. Unfortunately, Robert Mennel's book does not satisfactorily accomplish these tasks. *Thorns and Thistles* is lucidly written;

the subjects treated in it are well researched and the bibliography is excellent. But it does not develop useful interpretations or clearly outline the issues that future research must resolve.

The focus of *Thorns and Thistles* is never sharp. The subtitle suggests that the volume will treat delinquents themselves, but they rarely appear in these pages. The introduction declares that this is "an analysis of informed opinion" (p. xiv), but the book is more and less than that. More, because institutional realities and procedures are noted here; less, because this is not a full-scale treatment of the idea of delinquency. What we do have is a series of discussions of assorted subjects that are not imaginatively linked or able to convey a sense of the direction or dynamics of change.

Mennel turns first to the rise of houses of refuge in the antebellum period, and then moves to Charles Loring Brace, the placing-out movement, and the popularity of reform schools in the late nineteenth century. He devotes two chapters to the 1880-1910 period, describing the new determinist thinking about deviancy, the origins of institutions for defective delinquents and retarded, and such experimental ventures as the George Junior Republic. He closes with one chapter on the juvenile court and another on the chief figures concerned with delinquency in the 1920s, William Healy, W. I. Thomas, and Mirian Van Waters. Although the book covers the years through 1940, the depression hardly appears here at all.

At various points Mennel contends that the "continuing decline in the effectiveness of family government" (pp. 115-16) is central to the history of delinquency. But we never learn whether this was a real phenomenon or the way Americans perceived reality. There is little evidence presented to support either position and no attempt to explain its causes. Nor do we know how to interpret the various incidents of inmate violence that Mennel reports. Was incendiarism common to juvenile institutions? Were the fire-setters responding in a not altogether bizarre fashion to wretched institutional conditions? And how are we to view one of the most significant developments in this field: the creation of institutions for the defective delinquent and retarded? Were these institutions humanitarian advances to help those sick and

in trouble? Or were they one more method for locking up troublesome lower-class children and throwing away the key?

A growing body of literature is devoted to the rise of the juvenile court. Mennel devotes much attention to this Progressive innovation, but he does not advance our understanding of it. He declares that by extending the *parens patriae* doctrine, the court "was enormously appealing" (p. 132). But appealing to whom? For what reasons? Did the juvenile court's extension of judicial discretion actually facilitate judicial discrimination? Or did it free judges from harmful rigidities in nineteenth-century criminal procedures? Ultimately, Mennel comes down hard on the juvenile court, insisting that it perpetuated older ideas and practices. But then what is the real import of the new thinking on delinquency that he traces? Why could, or should, a society change labels and rhetoric but not the substance of its procedures?

These questions are significant, not only to the history of delinquency but to the history of American society. The reader of Mennel's book may not be eager to pursue them further. But that, I believe, would be a serious mistake.

DAVID J. ROTHMAN
Columbia University

ROGER M. WILLIAMS. *The Bonds: An American Family*. New York: Atheneum. 1971. Pp. xvi, 301. \$10.00.

This readable and interesting volume, written by a *Time* correspondent, covers four generations of the distinguished Afro-American family that produced Julian Bond, the well-known young politician of our own time.

The first generation is represented by "Aunt Jane" (1828-1920), a Kentucky slave of mixed blood who was given by her owner to his daughter when she married the Reverend Preston Bond, a young Methodist minister, in 1848. During the Civil War years she gave birth to two sons, James and Henry, of whom Bond was apparently the father. Soon after emancipation she returned to her original community, where she served as a housekeeper for many years. Both of her boys managed to get an education at Berea College.

James Bond (1863-1929), who represents the second generation, went from Berea to Oberlin Seminary and became a Congregational minister

to Southern black churches. When Berea College was required by state law to admit white students only, James Bond became the financial agent of a new Negro offshoot institution. Later he served at Talladega College, as a pastor in Atlanta, and as a state YMCA director in Kentucky.

Horace Mann Bond (1904–), the well-known Negro educator and historian, is the most outstanding representative of the third generation. Educated in the several towns where his father worked and graduating from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, he later completed a Ph.D. program at the University of Chicago. He taught in a number of black colleges, served as president of his alma mater and of Fort Valley State College in Georgia, and finally became dean of education at Atlanta University. Along the way he produced two important books on the history of education for Negroes.

Julian Bond (1940–) receives the lion's share of space. Although not as highly educated as his father and grandfather, he won national recognition at an early age as a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, as an elected Georgia legislator who was denied his seat for a year, and as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention of 1968, where his name was put up for the vice-presidency.

While the author's documentation is skimpy, the book appears to be authentic, much of the information coming from personal interviews with members of the family. The tone is sympathetic but not uncritical. *The Bonds* is a useful contribution to our understanding of black leadership.

IRA V. BROWN

Pennsylvania State University

JONATHAN MESSERLI. *Horace Mann: A Biography*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1972. Pp. xviii, 604, xxxvii. \$15.00.

The bibliographic apparatus of this new life of Horace Mann indicates rather clearly what the author considered his task to be. Messerli lists as his sources seventy-five manuscript collections located in forty repositories; he cites secondary works sparingly in the footnotes and

not at all at the back of the book. The author aimed to provide not an intensive analysis of Mann's public contributions, but a meticulous birth-to-death biography, built directly upon the sources.

On the whole he has succeeded admirably and has placed historians of American culture in his debt. No one will soon need to repeat Messerli's odyssey from his base in the Massachusetts Historical Society, westward to Antioch College and the Huntington, eastward to the National Library of Scotland. (His footnotes are grouped so radically that the reader in quest of a particular reference would often not know in which direction to travel. Fortunately, Messerli's quotes and citations are reliable.) And the entire life is here, judiciously presented: the childhood affected by a community's transition to household industry and by the repressions of late Edwardsean religion; Mann's exposure to successively more liberating forms of education, from local tutors, to the Brown University of Asa Messer, to the Litchfield Law School under Judge Gould; the legal and political career, traced session-by-session through Mann's years in the Massachusetts Senate and the United States Congress; the courageous battle to establish Antioch College; the tortured but ultimately stable personal life; and, of course, Mann's career as a crusader for public education, temperance, free soil, and improved treatment of the insane.

Messerli's determination to deal with all these matters, and to do so in year-by-year fashion, leads to recurrent loss of focus. A number of chapters are potpourris of information tenuously linked by chronological accident and by titles or epigraphs that might almost have been chosen from a hat. In a biography organized with such devotion to chronology, overall coherence depends heavily upon an author's persuasion that the developing personality of his subject is the matter of prime and integrating importance. Messerli's treatment seems not to be informed by a clear conviction of that sort.

This is not to say that the book lacks analysis. Messerli, who is dean of the School of Education at Hofstra University, interprets Mann as the leader and type-figure for a kind of post-Calvinist educational reform that, while inevitable and in many ways a brilliant achievement, also produced new priestly castes and

new didacticisms. (The nineteenth-century educationists, aloft with their vision, could not know they were pathbreakers for "a suffocating and sometimes mind-numbing establishmentarian bureaucracy" [p. xii].) Mann comes through, on one hand, as a remarkably successful orator and organizer, and on the other as a religious liberal utterly and humorlessly unwilling to divorce education from moral indoctrination. Like many other reformers, he was a self-dramatizer who systematically, for personal and tactical reasons, exaggerated the strength and wickedness of the opposition. The more ingratiating and heroic Horace Mann—the one known, up to now, to every schoolchild—also appears in this book, but in large measure is left to speak for himself. His biographer, understandably weary of the older panegyrics, lavishes more commentary upon Mann's shortcomings than upon his grander accomplishments and disinterested decisions.

But that is scarcely ground for complaint; the evidence clearly lends itself to very different readings. And the author has now set the evidence before us more fully than ever before. There is still room for a more concise and controlled analysis, which Messerli himself could supply, of Mann's importance to American development in the nineteenth century.

WILLIAM R. HUTCHISON
Harvard University

SAM BOWERS HILLIARD. *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 296. \$10.00.

This is a fine book on a subject that lies athwart several important lines of historical analysis. Hilliard's findings bear on the economic relationship of the South to the West, on the issue of planter "efficiency," on the interrelationships between slavery and staple production, and on the question of the level of material welfare provided by the Southern economy. The author handles his evidence—drawn from travel diaries, plantation records, the agricultural and commercial press, and the census—with skill and imagination, and his interpretations are sound.

The book falls into five parts—the first being a brief but useful historical introduction and

the last a summary of conclusions. The second section consists of three chapters, one on environmental constraints on agricultural production, the second on Southern dietary practices and preferences, the third on wild foods. All are good, the second particularly so.

There are five chapters in the third section, each dealing with a component of the Southern diet. The centerpieces of these chapters are estimates of production and consumption of the chief foods, by county (based on census and plantation records), that permit the author to appraise the degree of self-sufficiency of the various parts of the South. On the whole he finds a high degree of self-sufficiency, the exceptions being a few urbanized river and coastal counties—a finding that tends to undercut the Calendar-North hypothesis. Hilliard's thesis appears to be secure and is confirmed, at least at the state and regional levels, by concurrent, but independent, studies running along similar lines. (See, for example, the article by W. K. Hutchinson and S. H. Williamson, "Self-Sufficiency of the Antebellum South: Estimates of the Food Supply," *Journal of Economic History*, 31 [1971]: 591-612.) The scholarly effort that went into Hilliard's county estimates is impressive, and his work will be of value to many.

The fourth section consists of a chapter on trade in foods. It does not have the lucidity of the others and one has the impression that Hilliard has leaned over backward to give the case for Southern dependency a fair hearing. Nonetheless, the conclusion that trade was modest comes through quite clearly.

The book has its imperfections. There are some repetitive sections. Hilliard has not read all the recent journal literature. The chapter on trade would have been better if he had used Diane Lindstrom's work and had made more use of Albert Fishlow's work. The author does not always see the full significance of his findings. In several places he appears to accept self-sufficiency (of the region? of the plantation?) as an unqualified desideratum, whereas elsewhere he indicates the range of choice open to Southerners and the nature and extent of the possible trade-offs—a conflict of attitude that is never quite resolved. But these shortcomings do not seriously detract from an excellent book that will prove very useful to other

scholars and that is, moreover, a pleasure to read.

ROBERT E. GALLMAN
*University of North Carolina,
 Chapel Hill*

DONNA MERWICK. *Boston Priests, 1848-1910: A Study of Social and Intellectual Change*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1973. Pp. xiii, 276. \$12.00.

The dust jacket of this book by the senior lecturer in American history at the University of Melbourne, Australia, states that it provides "a new interpretation of Boston Catholic culture." It does, indeed, and I would add, a most welcome one. In a sense the work is an exercise in revisionist history, revising the hitherto uniform picture of Boston's mid- and late nineteenth-century priests as "Irish," men whose acculturation, as the author says, has been presumed as "nothing more than the clerical equivalent of the Irish migrants' adjustment to Protestant America" (p. ix). Utilizing such varied sources as unpublished correspondence and diaries, publications in the form of novels, poetry, and articles in local periodicals and newspapers, Mrs. Merwick's study of these clergymen demonstrates that well into the 1890s a number of leading priests were strongly motivated by a desire to be more than mere observers of the local scene, and in consequence a number of them were "significantly affected by the surrounding Yankee culture."

Their efforts were altogether congenial to John J. Williams during his long tenure of the See of Boston (1866-1907). At a testimonial luncheon in November 1889 Archbishop Patrick J. Ryan of Philadelphia described Williams, with a characteristic play on the words "cardinal" and "hub" (by which Boston was often designated), as one whose consummate prudence, although a "cardinal" virtue, was not to be monopolized by the College of Cardinals, for prudence regulated all the virtues that, like the spokes of a wheel, move around the "hub." But with Williams's death in August 1907 and the succession of William H. O'Connell, a profound change of emphasis ensued in Boston's Catholic life. Perhaps more than any American Catholic churchman of those years, O'Connell embodied the spirit

known as the *Romanità*, imbibed during his many years in the Eternal City. The lingering notes of an accommodating spirit vis-à-vis Boston's Yankees were systematically submerged, and a particularly insistent quality of ultramontanist thenceforth set the pace for all Catholic thinking and orientation, a new dispensation that was interlarded with heavy emphasis on the glories of the Catholics' Irish heritage.

The story of this intellectual evolution among Boston's priests is told here with verve, imagination, and humor. One might even wish that Mrs. Merwick would have tarried long enough in our country to write a companion volume on the Catholic priests of the half century after 1910 in Boston, or for that matter, in any other American diocese. Historical works constructed along the lines of the present volume cannot help but enrich our knowledge not only of American religious history but of social history as well. If I may express a final wish it would be that writers of prospective works in American religious history such as that of Mrs. Merwick, and several others recently published by American authors come readily to mind, would submit their manuscripts to a specialist before going to print. Limitation of space forbids the mention of the not inconsiderable number of errors of fact in the present work, errors that could easily have been eliminated by one familiar with the subject. It would not be fair, however, to close on this negative note, for Mrs. Merwick's book is definitely a contribution that, it is to be hoped, will give rise to more of its kind.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS
University of San Francisco

KEVIN STARR. *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xviii, 494. \$12.50.

That a nation's or a region's history can depend on ideas more than on the facts of land and sovereignty has been clear since Moses came down from Sinai; the American West has transcended the common limits of geography to fulfill acts of imagination and faith of a long line of secular and spiritual prophets. During the gold rush of 1849 and later, interest in California was so clearly an act of faith rather

than of prudent calculation that readers of its history instinctively turned to romantic treatments long before Henry Nash Smith legitimized romance itself as subject matter of Western history. They bought H. H. Bancroft's ponderous volumes as a symbol of commitment to Western residence, if not merely of response to his high-pressure salesmen, but they read tales of adventurers and promoters. Taste in state history, in fact, became more rather than less romantic in the years when orchards and packing houses replaced mines, as new Californians began to turn from themselves as subjects to their Spanish predecessors, who had become ornaments for the heraldry of the new rich rather than competitors for the riches of new land.

Carey McWilliams was the first historian of California to incorporate aspiration and imagination as major themes in general accounts of the state. But Franklin Walker had already cut a broad swath of social history from the gold rush to the 1870s in *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* (1939). Starr's book is about a fourth longer than Walker's; his documentation is fuller, though Walker worked more in manuscript sources, which other writers on the figures that Starr emphasizes have been slow to use. (A recent doctoral student is the first to use the papers of David Starr Jordan, one of the four figures that Starr treats in full chapters.) Devoting about half his space to later figures, and giving full chapters to no one who became well known much before the 1890s, Starr recrosses relatively little of Walker's ground.

Starr says that his subject is "the imaginative aspects of California's journey to identity" and that he seeks "to integrate fact and imagination in the belief that the record of their interchange through symbolic statement is our most precious legacy from the past"; he intends the book as "a dramatization of the actual and symbolic relationships" that Americans who came to California achieved in responding "to its imperatives" (p. vii). His approach recalls Smith, Alan Heimert, and Perry Miller as well as Walker and McWilliams, though California supported no systems of thought comparable to Puritan theology or anything like the Puritan moral consensus, as attempts to transplant New England manners made evident; like Walker,

he is interested in literary society and the lives of *littérateurs* (especially in the times of Jack London and of Walker's *Seacoast of Bohemia* [1966, 1972]) though more prone to push them for symbolism. And while moving out from literature and popular preaching to architecture, Stanford University, the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915, and the science of Joseph Le Conte and Luther Burbank, he says little of journalism: Henry George and Bret Harte appear, but *Overland Monthly* and the daily press only in passing. Most of the *dramatis personae* are major characters in Walker's books, but Starr presents them in fresh colors and occasionally introduces additional characters, such as the travelers J. Smeaton Chase and Arthur T. Johnson, who describes for him the concluding scenes.

To gather "selected acts of definition, moments when vision and event betrayed their interchange, and the aesthetic pattern and moral meaning of social experience became clear" (p. 444) is an ambitious undertaking, and fortunately Starr does not insist on such criteria. When he does, his evidence sometimes does not clearly sustain him, as when he says that the experience of Richard Henry Dana "asserted that California could not equivocally reverse history or void the past" (p. 47); that Keseberg, survivor of the Donner party, was "forced to go through life as a warning that California's history might have locked within it some unutterable horror" (p. 128); that John Muir "escaped his killing father . . . by projecting into nature his deepest longings for love and psychic survival" (p. 184); that "it was invariably the landscape they inhabited that Californians referred to when they wanted to describe who they were" (p. 208); that the Exposition of 1915 "bespoke the need for design, for the visual ordering of inner myths" (p. 306). Is it clear that Californians "seemed awkward and silent . . . partly because they lived day by day in the presence of a mighty, non-human music" (p. 424)?

Starr occasionally slips when he ventures away from literature, which for the most part he does productively. The American frontier was "largely Scots-Irish" (p. 416) only within narrow definition. To say that in most gold-rush writing "experience was written down as it was perceived, raw, untouched by historical

imagination or dramatic art" (p. 51) ignores the expectations that colored much observation and writing; it is a little surprising that Starr generally passes over the dimension of Eastern views of the West, which William Goetzmann, Hans Huth, J. S. Holliday, Robert Hine, and others have profitably explored. (His quotations from Henry James and George Santayana represent conspicuous exceptions.) He might have put his historians and other writers on California (p. 125) in the perspective of Western puffery. Herbert Hoover was not from Portland and did not graduate as a mining engineer (pp. 338-39). If Old Californians revered John C. Frémont (pp. 367, 369), they concealed their feelings well. The index, without subheadings, is inadequate. Readers deserve more precise statements than that something "boggles the mind" (p. 424) or was "not that great" (pp. 413, 416)—not so great as what? Nevertheless, Starr writes well on the whole; he effectively conveys the color of the personalities and scenes that he describes, and his quotations and illustrations are a rich tapestry. One might question some of his apportionment of space: why more than twice as much on George Sterling as on Frank Norris? Why a chapter on Gertrude Atherton but little on *Overland Monthly* or the newspaper press? But Starr promises another book, to emphasize southern California and the twentieth century as this book emphasizes northern California and the nineteenth. His readers will await it with great interest, because he is bringing much to Western social and literary history.

EARL POMEROY

University of Oregon

GAIL THAIN PARKER. *Mind Cure in New England: From the Civil War to World War I*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1973. Pp. xi, 197. \$9.00.

Close reading of popular philosophers may help us reconstruct the thoughts of average people. So Gail Parker has tried "writing the intellectual history of a movement which might ordinarily be regarded as an appropriate subject for the social historian or anthropologist." She explores mind cure through the major writings of ten proponents and several related thinkers, avoiding the large magazine

literature of New Thought and Christian Science.

Parker contrasts her approach with that of Donald Meyers's *The Positive Thinkers* (1965), which in her view debunked the curists out of context. She believes that Meyers blurred their differences with later positive thinkers and also ignored the ways in which the very inconsistencies of the curists provided a viable strategy of living for thousands upset by a real crisis in American values. Meyers construed mind cure as a revolt against Protestant asceticism; Parker finds a nostalgic attempt to reinvigorate traditional values.

Parker exaggerates the differences between the two treatments, however. She stresses self-control as the goal of mind cure, while Meyers emphasizes the surrender of self to the dominion of superconsciousness; but both agree that the movement reinforced conventional standards of behavior. Curists shrank from the adventurous "letting go" of oneself that William James favored. Both books also recognize that the curists largely avoided social reform, remaining preoccupied with the quality of the individual life. Meyers's analysis is more penetrating, noting how anxious the curists were to assume a social harmony that demanded little of the individual beyond ordering himself. By emphasizing personal prosperity and joy through "right thinking" they also undermined Protestant asceticism, however much their rhetoric reaffirmed traditional notions of character and of the self-made man.

Beyond her much fuller treatment of individual curists, Parker improves upon Meyers at some points. Thus, she shows how New Thinkers could perceive of themselves as antiauthoritarian and engage in their own version of an antitrust campaign against Mary Baker Eddy. But minor contributions do not justify a book. The attempt at an intellectual history fails; derivative, "muddle-headed" thinkers do not lend themselves to individual analysis when they overlap as much as do these ten curists.

The therapeutic potential of their ideas interested curists more than the ideas themselves, but the book does not focus consistently on that potential. Rather, Parker's keen analyses are scattered through a presentation that glances over too many subjects with too many

digressions and undeveloped allusions. The book also lacks the perspective Meyers provided on alternatives available to a "nervous" generation, especially developments in religion, medicine, and psychology.

Reductionist psychological portraits ill serve her attempt to improve the curists' reputation. Those just outside New Thought—Mrs. Eddy and Charlotte Gilman—come off the worst, but characterizations like those of Annie Call as a "male impersonator" and Elizabeth Towne as a "professional seductress of male power" make their ideas seem little more than the sum of their symptoms. Mind cure's usefulness for readers did not depend upon the mental health of its authors; lacking any analysis of readers, however, Parker's psychobiographies reinforce Meyers's unflattering appraisal.

CLYDE GRIFFEN
Vassar College

EMORY M. THOMAS. *The Confederate State of Richmond: A Biography of the Capital*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1971. Pp. viii, 227. \$6.75.

Why did the Confederate Congress resolve to transfer the Confederate capital from Montgomery to Richmond very early in the war? Richmond had several advantages, and superior hotel facilities were not necessarily the least. If designed to ensure Virginia's support, the move succeeded only in part. The Old Dominion became a battleground, with the result that the decisive engagement of the war occurred not a great distance from Yorktown.

This little book gives a useful, readable account of Richmond's military, political, social, and economic experiences as capital of the Confederacy. Each chapter carries the narrative for several months. The street map, illustrations, note on sources, bibliography, and index are all helpful. Thomas uses many sources that have been shared by others—official documents and private diaries—and merges such material with newspaper citations. The latter lost no vigor, even attracting the *Sentinel* from Alexandria. Apparently newsprint was more plentiful than in Vicksburg, where some issues appeared on wallpaper during the siege.

Richmond's population swelled from 38,000 to around 100,000, which included the civil service, army detachments, prisoners, and cas-

ualties. The Confederacy concentrated much of its power only five days' march from the frontier. The government, military command, prisons, and hospitals all gravitated to the chief source of ordnance. Though spared from shelling, Richmond suffered hunger that became worse each spring because of the despoliation of nearby crops. Mobs raided the stores in 1863. In 1864 the Tredegar Company scoured the South for provisions, finally resigning the responsibility. Governor "Extra-Billy" Smith also wrestled with the problem. Thomas keeps abreast of Richmond's inflation by citing outlandish prices here and there (price controls failed repeatedly). No mention is made of Eugene M. Lerner's price indexes, which apply directly and lend considerable precision here. Thus in 1864 prices in Augusta, Fayetteville, and Wilmington tended to level off at forty-two times prewar quotations because of a currency reform, but Richmond's quotations kept climbing to more than seventy times prewar quotations, until they lapsed late in the year. Confederate currency largely originated in Richmond; and the third-degree inflation was intensified by attrition and declining crops. Actually a four-market index reached 9,211 per cent at the end of the war. Average wages, however, stopped at 987 per cent. Thomas encountered this disparity in a congressman's sorrowful letter home—virtually his entire salary went into laundry expenses, even with infrequent changes of linen.

Social life went on despite stringent liquor controls. People hardened to the pangs of the wounded and dying, the hungry civilians, and the hungrier prisoners. Crime was curbed by martial law. Morale oscillated between the extremes. Toward the end it approached desperation, and when Petersburg fell, Richmond applied the torch to her bridge and river front. There was a quality of self-martyrdom in this tragic story.

THOMAS SENIOR BERRY
University of Richmond

TRUMAN NELSON. *The Old Man: John Brown at Harper's Ferry*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1973. Pp. 304. \$8.95.

RICHARD O. BOYER. *The Legend of John Brown: A Biography and a History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1973. Pp. xxiii, 627, xvii. \$12.50.

Both of these books are parts of larger studies, Truman Nelson's *The Old Man: John Brown at Harper's Ferry* a sequel to his *The Surveyor: John Brown in Kansas* (1960), and Richard O. Boyer's *The Legend of John Brown* the first of two volumes on the life of the most enigmatic of our American heroes. Boyer's book closes in 1855 with the Old Man's arrival in Kansas as he brings a new antislavery militance to his less resolute and wholly disorganized sons. Nelson's account opens four years later with the clandestine conference over strategy between John Brown and Frederick Douglass and traces in detail the course of the raid on Harper's Ferry to its grisly climax. These differences in the focus and scale of the two works reflect diametrically opposed views, not only of John Brown himself, but also of the nature and function of biography.

The John Brown depicted by Mr. Nelson is a thoroughly modern, not to say existentialist, hero, the revolutionary man of action whose unerring sense of the logic of history constantly informs his role as one of its principal agents. Nelson's spare, briskly paced narrative tells the story of a coup d'état that nearly succeeded. "John Brown had discovered and implemented every significant requirement of the classic coup, provoking a lurid sequence of public scenes of almost unbearable tension, upheaval, and crisis." The leverage of the coup, the author argues in following Edward Luttwak's *Coup D'Etat, A Practical Handbook*, "comes from a small but critical segment of the state apparatus, used to displace the government from the control of the remainder." It was that critical segment of Republican party leadership, according to Nelson, that John Brown sought to attach to his radical cause, a task he accomplished with singleminded concentration, meticulous planning, careful recruitment, and an entirely plausible set of strategies. There are few shadows and subtleties in Nelson's portrait of John Brown, whose actions, given his essentially one-dimensional mind, appear consistent and predictable. Having made a "full and complete break" with the moderate opponents of slavery and assumed a new identity, he "goes step by step" into a "vital and amazing transformation" that quickly dispels all illusions and scruples and lays bare the hard, pure will of the modern revolutionary.

Thus the Old Man is seen as a precursor of the twentieth-century professional, a master of duplicity and cool calculator of his chances who "used the libertarian idioms in the scriptures to mask his insurrectionary message," displayed an uncanny knack for recruiting followers, and issued his directives in clear and compelling terms. In sum, the complete *agent provocateur* whose final crushing failure is hard to credit.

Yet Nelson's reading of the man and his raid is undermined by the very events that he describes so vividly. For if John Brown was first and last a simple man of action, he was ultimately betrayed by his actions. Even the uncomplicated narrative account furnished by Mr. Nelson is shot through with questions that continue to vex the reader as he follows the unfolding sequence of events. Why was a "classic coup" also the most publicized conspiracy in history, the common property of every Republican politician in Washington? How and why did an initially designed guerilla operation for running off slaves suddenly become the "symbolic act" of occupation and martyrdom? How did such a consummate judge of revolutionary character come to pick the likes of the adventurer Hugh Forbes and such unreliaables as John E. Cook and Charles Tilly? Why did the Old Man boast of his knowledge of the West Virginia mountains when in fact he knew little of either the countryside or its inhabitants? And finally, how did a leader supposedly endowed with a superb sense of timing and detail allow himself to be so easily trapped, and why, even as he realized that "there was very little chance any more of working out a rational settlement," did he insist to his beleaguered conspirators, "Tut, tut, I have my own plans here"?

Such questions, which lead to the fundamental nature of the man, are the stuff of Richard Boyer's ambitious *The Legend of John Brown*. Subtitled "A Biography and a History," Boyer's massive study rests on the not wholly convincing proposition that "this is more a story of a time than a man" and that John Brown was "a battleground, a microcosm of the wider one shaking the nation and reflecting to an extent the advances and defeats of the antislavery crusade." To attempt to dramatize through the single figure "the slow transformation of the

American people" is a large undertaking, one that involves the author in two complementary techniques, only one of which is successful. The first, an attempt to establish an external connection between John Brown and his times, necessitates lengthy excursions into what (despite the author's intentions) can only be called "background" material—portraits of leading abolitionists and fire-eaters, accounts of anti-slavery battles, the Underground Railroad, the Kansas crisis—much of which is only tenuously attached through inference, surmise, and an oracular tone to the figure of John Brown.

With his "biography," however, Boyer is entirely successful in registering through the single sensibility the public events and issues that culminate in a war over slavery. In the painstakingly reconstructed experience of the Old Man himself we sense something very close to the representative man. Like the Jacksonian society of which he was part, John Brown was a complex of contradictions: a man of fundamental honesty but invested with suicidal powers of self-deception; a Cromwellian leader of Christian youth but also an Old Testament patriarch in whom the strains of husbandry and domesticity ran deep; a self-styled universal man and a congenital failure; a profoundly religious figure increasingly sensitive to the sin of slavery yet a willing victim of the vast materialist forces engulfing Jacksonian America. Twice a business failure, hounded and run to earth by his creditors, stripped of his self-esteem, John Brown on the eve of the Kansas wars suffered what can only be called a psychic crisis of mammoth proportions. It is only one of the many—perhaps unintended—ironies of Mr. Boyer's admirable portrait that the Old Man's decision to strike out for Kansas rather than retreat to his mythical mountain fastness in North Elba was hardly unequivocal—that as his raid on Harper's Ferry would finally show, the two designs continued to be fatally confused in his mind.

If, then, we are not wholly persuaded by Mr. Boyer that in approaching "the reality of himself" amid the wreckage of his commercial hopes John Brown was emblematic of his times, we are at least convinced that he can only be understood as a complicated man of his age who felt all of its various forces and however unconsciously and ineptly helped give

them shape. For all its undeniable merits as narrative, Mr. Nelson's account lacks this awareness of the autonomy of the past, which makes it such an unreliable guide to the rediscovery in our time of a revolutionary morality.

JOHN L. THOMAS
Brown University

MICHAEL DAVIS. *The Image of Lincoln in the South*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1971. Pp. 205. \$7.95.

It is remarkable that the indefatigable explorers of the Lincoln theme did not travel this territory earlier. The South offers better vantage points from which to view Lincoln than many of the farther-out reaches of Lincoln country long since trekked, especially because through the eyes of Southern whites the reader eventually sees Lincoln in the same aspect that current black militants perceive, Lincoln as racist. To be sure, where the apparently racist Lincoln is to a black such as Malcolm X the man who "did more to trick Negroes than any other man in history," to a white Southerner such as Thomas Dixon, Jr., Lincoln as racist could become Lincoln the hero despite his role in the Civil War. While Michael Davis hastens to add that neither Malcolm X nor the author of *The Clansman* perceived the whole Lincoln, Lincoln did supply the actions and the quotations for the building of his racist reputation, and examining what it has been possible for the South to find in him offers at least a few new shadings toward an effort to build a portrait of him as he really was. Seeing him as the South saw him also, of course, adds some shadings to Southern history.

Davis traces the evolution of the Lincoln image in the South from the South's "discovery" of the previously unknown Lincoln during the election of 1860, through Lincoln's part in the climactic sectional crises between his election and his inauguration, through "the Confederates' Lincoln" of the war years, through Lincoln as seen by the devotees of the Lost Cause, to the Lincoln perceived by the New South. The terminal date is 1909, the centennial of Lincoln's birth, after the celebration of which, says Davis, "the reunion process, in the context of which changing Southern attitudes about Lincoln must be seen, was over."

The South first discovered Lincoln in the guise of a fool, the uncouth railsplitter who was "the very antithesis of the Cavalier ideal," but who in 1860 was known less as a man than simply as a symbol of Republicanism, also uncouth and antithetical to the cavalier ideal. During the secession winter and at Fort Sumter, the fool turned into a monster, the bloodthirsty tyrant who would not allow the sovereign Southern states to depart in peace. During the war the images of the fool and the tyrant managed to blend, but prolonged exposure to Lincoln also allowed a few Southerners to begin feeling a certain sympathy for him and to begin seeing him as a man. The Lincoln of the Lost Cause era rapidly became a still more sympathetic character, except among a few irreconcilables, as the South convinced itself it had lost a generous friend when Lincoln died too soon to preside over Reconstruction. The process of reconciliation with Lincoln included the rediscovery of his Southern birth and heritage, which along with his seemingly racist aspects made him to the New South practically a precursor of itself.

Davis traces this evolution with care, competence, a literary grace uncommon in a book that began as a dissertation, and a deft, gentle exploitation of the humor implicit in such a champion of the Old South as Lyon Gardiner Tyler, the son of President John Tyler, who carried the banner of southern chivalry unyieldingly against all importunities that he compromise with the plebeian values embodied by Lincoln, still scourging Lincoln in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* and wherever else he could, until his death on Lincoln's birthday, 1935.

RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY
*U.S. Army Military History
Research Collection*

HUGH HAWKINS. *Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 404. \$12.50.

This is a first-rate study of an important and still elusive mystery: the mystery of Charles W. Eliot's success at Harvard, and with the American public. Students of our educational development will find Hawkins's bifocal examina-

tion of Eliot's attempt to create "the American university," and a top place for it in popular esteem, at once informed, thoughtful, and well written, yet somehow inconclusive.

Despite the Brahmin self-assurance of the title, and a faintly pervasive Harvardian atmosphere, Hawkins's treatment is refreshingly fair-minded. Using Eliot's own papers and speeches, he has shown that the great Harvard statesman was no educational philosopher—or if he was, he believed in mutually incompatible things: mental discipline, faculty psychology, freedom of study, useful learning, and public service. Hawkins has looked carefully at the classic Yale faculty report of 1828 and discovered that most of our educational historians have maligned it. The hero-worship of Wayland of Brown as pioneer-prophet finds Hawkins no follower: about Wayland, he says, Eliot was "never accurately informed." Hawkins also mentions (although he does not emphasize) some notable Eliot failures: the veterinary school, the dental school, and the Lawrence Scientific School, transmuted after sixty years of competitive mediocrity by the McKay bequest. Again, there was Eliot's unsuccessful and rather utilitarian championship of the three-year B.A. In these pages one can discover how Eliot only gradually became aware of Harvard's regional provincialism and set out to attract students from Middle America and the West Coast by repeated tours, by exhibits at the great fairs, by a publicity bureau, and ultimately, after his retirement, by the Harvard Classics.

Much of what Hawkins reports about the elective principle in Eliot's hands seems fresh and illuminating. With Eliot, we learn, the elective idea was less a matter of profound educational theory than at first a pragmatic promotion of specialization and professional competence, then a way to substitute a variety of talents for the well-rounded man, and finally a growing sympathy for freedom. This freedom Eliot at first had wanted to make possible for the college by a compulsory foundation in the schools. But ultimately the free election idea seemed to him applicable right down to the elementary level.

Eliot's abilities as an educational administrator are stressed, but perhaps not all of the implications of his "rage for order." One only

senses what must have been a decidedly thick-skinned and insensitive educational code of values. Now and again comes a revealing flash as when we are told that the founding of the Harvard Business School "enhanced the non-professional status of the undergraduate program"!

As for the faculty, one hears of Eliot's unsuccessful attempts to raid Yale in the 1870s and of his slow turn to European scholars after Johns Hopkins had shown the way, but surprisingly little else about how Eliot built up the great Harvard departments. So also one learns of the virtues and ambiguities of the elective idea but hardly guesses how expensive it was. In fact, one of the real regrets that the reader may have on finishing this book is the lack of information about Harvard finances. How could Eliot have afforded so many new schools, so many new appointments, such variety of study? Where did the money come from? Hawkins mentions the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation and a few individual donors; but otherwise the emphasis is on the high dependence on tuitions in Harvard College. Harvard pioneered the sabbatical idea in 1880 and selective pensions in 1899. But where did those monies come from? Somehow, except momentarily in the 1890s and again because of enrollment troubles in the early 1900s, the funds were always "available." "Most gifts to Harvard came without direct solicitation although Eliot's broad pleas for support and his reputation for financial astuteness may have evoked them." Was it Eliot's firmness, his abilities as an organizer, his belief in business management and the business-like arrangement of schools, each under its dean, that appealed to the business community and made Harvard our richest university? Was it Eliot's defense of the Catholic churches (and of Harvard) on the tax question and his obvious non-sectarian stance that attracted benevolent strangers? Was it the sons of the rich (who clearly were abusing their elective opportunities)? Was it Eliot's connections with the old families and new fortunes of Boston? We should like to know. For was it not perhaps the extraordinary prosperity of Harvard that built a good deal of Eliot's success at home and in the nation?

This brings us back to the mystery. In what

did Eliot's greatness consist? Hawkins seems to find answers only to push them away and try again. "What Eliot said and how he said it were the secrets." Yet he "didn't fret about consistency" and kept changing his tunes. Was it because under his presidency Harvard achieved unquestioned pre-eminence with the professions, i.e., as a university? It hardly did the same with the college. Was it Eliot's tough-skinned willingness to participate in the National Education Association and then to parlay his masterful personality into a guiding role for the Committee of Ten? Curiously, for all of his well-publicized pronouncements on public education, the number of high school students in Harvard College never rose above thirty per cent. Was it the summer school that attracted the rising public school teachers—and so built a pedagogical reputation? Or was it finally his vigor and long life, his association with the General Education Board and other foundations, his sympathy for Progressivism and big business, and his willingness to popularize the five-foot shelf—that is, was it also the long afterglow that helped to fix the image in the American mind of Eliot as our first educator and sage? This thoughtful book gives many clues, but no final answer.

GEORGE W. PIERSON
Yale University

MELVIN I. UROFSKY and DAVID W. LEVY, editors. *Letters of Louis D. Brandeis*. Volume 1 (1870-1907): *Urban Reformer*; volume 2 (1907-1912): *People's Attorney*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1971; 1972. Pp. xlii, 610; xxiv, 750. \$20.00 each.

MELVIN I. UROFSKY. *A Mind of One Piece: Brandeis and American Reform*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1971. Pp. xiii, 210. \$10.00.

Striving to explain the greatness of Brandeis, the editors of the *Letters* cite his creative intelligence, integrity, intellectual rigor and consistency, tremendous energy and application, tactical sense, judgment, and consciousness of self. In these first two volumes such traits and more are projected in communications that are clear, forceful, and detailed. Few lives are filled with the didactic potentiality that characterizes the life of Brandeis. As private lawyer, benefactor, advocate of the public interest, organizer, ad-

visor to governmental officials, and Supreme Court justice, he was amazingly successful. Time has only sharpened our appreciation of his efforts to protect the environment, organize the consumer, and give voice to a too-often silent public interest.

From a pool of some fourteen thousand letters, the bulk of which is at the University of Louisville, the editors have projected five volumes, apparently choosing to err in favor of inclusion rather than exclusion. Yet the reader cannot but share the editors' disappointment in failing either to find or pry loose communications that would enhance our understanding of the private man or our knowledge of Brandeis's great success at the bar. Valuing the right of privacy, which in a seminal article he helped define, Brandeis destroyed much of his private correspondence, and his letters to his fiancée were made available to the editors only in pre-selected extracts. In hope of gathering some material on Brandeis's law practice, the editors contacted his old firm, Nutter, McClennan, and Fish. Though acknowledging that the basement contained files that might provide information, the partners refused the editors access on the ground that the confidences of present clients might be compromised. How rich this unexamined source is can only be a matter of speculation. Finally the editors were forced, in the absence of other copies, to paraphrase letters that Alfred Lief had earlier published. Working within these limitations, the editors have uncovered some new material, but, on the basis of these two volumes, the letters generally help tell a fuller story rather than open up new avenues of inquiry.

The *Letters* are well edited; the extensive annotations make the published collection highly useful. Modern editing, as these volumes illustrate, is far more than collecting and selecting; the time has come for the profession to look beyond the monograph and acknowledge the effort, thought, and professional competence that such editing requires. Especially Brandeis's letters, with their specificity and factual detail, pose a huge problem, but the editors have diligently tried to identify all addressees and people mentioned and to summarize the subject matter to make the letters fully comprehensible. Each volume contains an extensive chronology, pictures, and a workable

index. A spot check of the indexes revealed only some minor omissions in volume 1.

What emerges from these two volumes, with the great bulk of the letters concentrated in the decade from 1903 to 1912, is a picture of a forceful, assertive individual making certain public causes, first in Massachusetts and then in the nation, his own. While so many reformers were ineffectual because they relied on rhetoric to slay the enemy, Brandeis studied the enemy and then went into battle armed with facts and statistics. Many could discern problems; some could even suggest solutions; but few indeed could match Brandeis's talent for organizing, publicizing, equipping, directing, and, at times, personally financing, a successful reform campaign. The pattern of attack was remarkably similar whether the target was the Boston Consolidated Gas Company or old guard republicanism.

The temptation for an editor to express himself outside the confines of the editorial role is indeed great. Melvin Urofsky's *A Mind of One Piece*, consisting of seven essays on the general subject of Brandeis and reform, is not a major contribution to the literature, but the essays, when they are not etching in the background too broadly, are pleasant and at points insightful. Urofsky seeks to "show how seamless life and thought were in this man, how closely action and philosophy could be related to a single personality" (p. xii). Indicating a debt to Paul Freund for both the thesis and the title of the book, the author strives to give greater substance to the characterization by looking at Brandeis in various roles. His interesting essay entitled "The Progressive as Zionist" provides a convincing answer to the contemporary question, "How can such a good American be a Zionist?" Urofsky is critical of Brandeis for some of his political activism while on the Supreme Court, and he finds Brandeis's reputed knowledge of economics and economic theory shortsighted, but this criticism does not hide the author's warm admiration for his subject. In a final chapter he labels Brandeis a "linchpin of reform," an individual who had the stature and commanding presence to unite diverse and at times conflicting reform groups for a particular campaign. We have evidence that Brandeis consciously played this role; for instance,

in courting support for Woodrow Wilson in 1912.

In all roles Brandeis continued to be the advocate. Some of his opponents in 1916 questioned whether the Supreme Court appointee had a "judicial temperament." If they meant whether Brandeis would remain aloof, disinterested, and impartial, then the question answered itself. Almost forty years of advocacy could not be stilled by a black robe. Brandeis could neither change nor adopt a pose.

JOHN E. SEMONCHE
*University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill*

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, editor. *Reminiscences of an Active Life: The Autobiography of John Roy Lynch*. (Negro American Biographies and Autobiographies.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1970. Pp. xlii, 521. \$13.75.

ALFREDA M. DUSTER, editor. *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*. (Negro American Biographies and Autobiographies.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1970. Pp. xxxii, 434. \$14.50.

EMMA LOU THORNBROUGH. *T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist*. (Negro American Biographies and Autobiographies.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 388. \$12.50.

The three life histories under survey, volumes in the series, "Negro American Biographies and Autobiographies," edited by John Hope Franklin, furnish illustrations of some of the forms of black protest and activism in the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction periods. The trio—John R. Lynch, Ida B. Wells, and T. Thomas Fortune—shared some things in common: all were slave-born mixed-bloods, ambitious, personally courageous, highly articulate as speakers and writers, and integrationists with middle-class values, Lynch being almost patrician in bearing and manner.

By far the best known of the trio in white circles, Lynch operated mainly within Republican party politics, becoming Speaker of the House in the Mississippi legislature in January 1872, followed by three terms in Congress and a lifelong loyalty to the GOP. Between politics, officeholding, and the practice of law, Lynch found time to write, animated by a desire to set the record straight as to the role of blacks

as voters and officeholders during Reconstruction. In 1913 his *The Facts Of Reconstruction* appeared, going virtually unnoticed by a historical guild then under the spell of the Burgess-Dunning interpretation of the period. Some twenty years later Lynch, as if to restate his case, turned his attention to an autobiography, *Reminiscences Of An Active Life*. Incorporating much of the earlier book, *Reminiscences* adds an account of his early life and of his later decades. As thoughtful as he was able, Lynch's observations on American politics and political behavior make his autobiography much more than a personal statement. The full measure of the man is suggested in the careful, thirty-page introduction by editor Franklin, whose informative footnotes help guide one through the political thickets that Lynch loved to recall.

Ida B. Wells, whose autobiography, like that of Lynch, is now being published for the first time, said that she was moved to write it because there was, aside from Lynch's *Facts Of Reconstruction*, "such a lack of authentic race history of Reconstruction times by the Negro himself." In 1892, as an outspoken young editor-writer on the black Memphis weekly, *Free Speech*, Miss Wells unsparingly attacked the lynching of three local blacks, which she held was an excuse to intimidate the colored community by getting rid of its most able and prosperous members. Forced to leave Memphis, Miss Wells quit the South for good, devoting her early career to speaking and writing against "lynch law," making two trips abroad to that end. Subsequently she became one of the leaders in the colored women's club movement, besides engaging in social work and promoting woman's suffrage.

Despite its episodic and choppy approach (it has forty-six chapters) and an occasional touch of the self-righteousness also found in Lynch, Miss Wells's autobiography captures much of her outgoing, lively personality. It has candid, firsthand sidelights on notables like Susan B. Anthony and Frederick Douglass, although perhaps not saying enough about her own family—her able husband Ferdinand L. Barnett, a Chicago journalist-lawyer, and their four children, one of whom edited this volume. Daughter-editor Duster asserts that Miss Wells achieved a measure of success considerably be-

yond the credit she received, an accurate assessment whatever its source.

Whereas in tone and approach the Wells autobiography will primarily attract the more general reader, as the Lynch work will attract the academician, both types will be drawn to Emma Lou Thornbrough's fine biography of T. Thomas Fortune, at once a revealing portrait of the man and a solid study of the race relations climate in which he operated. Permanently leaving his native Florida in 1881, Fortune came to New York, successively becoming editor of the *Globe*, the *Freeman*, the *Age*, and, late in his career, *The Negro World*, organ of black nationalist Marcus Garvey. For nearly half a century Fortune was read and quoted in circles black and white, his audience appeal resulting not only from his unsurpassed militancy but also from his literary skills. Like Frederick Douglass before him, Fortune knew that if a protest journalist was to be effective he must master the craft.

Thornbrough carefully assesses Fortune's viewpoints and his influence, touching judiciously upon his ill-starred family life and his fondness for drink. The author's perception is perhaps best illustrated in her analysis of one of the most implausible professional alliances imaginable, the long although not permanent friendship between the hard-hitting Fortune and the all-powerful Booker T. Washington, whose public posture was one of racial uplift, not of protest. As one gathers from Thornbrough's pages, the black struggle against inequality took on many guises, with the role players themselves changing parts on occasion.

BENJAMIN QUARLES
Morgan State College

BRUCE CLAYTON. *The Savage Ideal: Intolerance and Intellectual Leadership in the South, 1890-1914*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 90th series [1972], number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1972. Pp. xii, 231. \$10.00.

Bruce Clayton's *The Savage Ideal* is a collective intellectual biography of fourteen white Southern men who constituted "an intelligentsia of native sons who criticized the entire life of the South—from lynchings to hookworm—searchingly, sometimes scathingly. The South

had never before been faced with such concentrated criticism from its own. For the first time in its history it had a full-fledged intellectual community." We must take these assertions on faith, and the rationale for including these men and excluding others, plus women and blacks, as well. The fourteen are: Edwin A. Alderman, John Spencer Bassett, William Garrott Brown, William E. Dodd, John C. Kilgo, James A. Kirkland, Alexander J. McKelway, Edwin Mims, Samuel Chiles Mitchell, Edgar Gardner Murphy, Thomas Nelson Page, Walter Hines Page, William P. Trent, and Woodrow Wilson. Why not include George Washington Cable, Joel Chandler Harris, Atticus Haygood, Lewis Harvey Blair, J. L. M. Curry, and many others? Clayton may have good reasons, but he does not tell us; there is no comment on methodology, no explication of assumptions.

In addition to these unanswered questions, I was troubled by a sense of *déjà vu*. So much of this general ground has been ably covered by the older books of Woodward, Harlan, Grant-ham, Logan, Meier, Newby, and Nolen, and by Paul Gaston's comprehensive *New South Creed*, published in 1970. Additionally and curiously, Clayton fails even to mention two similar recent books: Hugh C. Bailey's *Liberalism in the New South* (1969) and Lawrence J. Friedman's *The White Savage* (1970)—both of which also fail to explain the criteria for selecting the persons whose behavior was analyzed. Even so, Clayton's analysis is more convincing than that of the apologetic Bailey, who saw the fatal racist flaw in the Southern Progressives but sought to minimize it, or of the polemical Friedman, whose final chapter damningly profiled "A Nation of Savages." Clayton's volume suffers from the diffuseness that seems to be inherent in collective biographies, and his organization reflects this problem: two early chapters focus on individuals (Walter Hines Page and William P. Trent), then the middling chapters focus on issues—education, economics, and politics, but above all, race. The final chapter on Wilson fair-mindedly chronicles the simultaneous and symbiotic triumph of progressivism and racism. In blaming the South's racial brutality on the rednecks, these intellectuals, Clayton concludes, were blind to the pervasive and paternalistic racism in themselves, which corrupted their reforms and left the South still

deeply mired in what Wilbur Cash called the savage ideal.

HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM

University of Maryland Baltimore County

GERALD KURLAND. *Seth Low: The Reformer in an Urban and Industrial Age*. New York: Twayne Publishers. 1971. Pp. 415. \$7.95.

Professor Kurland's book deals with the public career of Seth Low, the study of which, he argues, will greatly increase our understanding "of the nuances of Progressive thought and goals." Low's career is important in this respect. From the beginning of his public career Low, scion of one of New York's leading commercial families, was associated with the liberal reform element within the Republican party. Possessed of "an itch for politics," according to Nicholas Murray Butler, Low participated in the liquidation of the family's business after serving two terms as mayor of Brooklyn, and he thereafter served as president of Columbia University, supervising its transition to a major university while deepening his involvement in reform politics. In 1901 Low resigned that office and ran for mayor of New York, and, after failing to obtain re-election in 1903, he served as president of Ralph Easley's National Civic Federation.

Low's penchant for reform was not sustained by anything resembling intellectual disinterestedness in examining the good life. Butler, who was closely associated with Low at both Columbia and the Civic Federation, recalled that he "was not absorbed in the literature of any subject, nor in the literature of his time," and Low himself confessed that his ideas of social development were in fact those of the economist, Richard T. Ely. What, then, motivated the "available man" of his day, and why did Low and Progressive reform move away from municipal reform in the direction of national programs? Unfortunately Kurland sheds little light upon these questions. Ultimately he argues that Low possessed a deep and abiding sense of social justice and that he worked resolutely to improve the condition of the working man. Kurland (quite properly, I think) rejects the idea that status insecurity underlay Low's reform activity. Low was an optimist and, as

Kurland points out, something of "an idealist [and] a man of good hope." But this assessment does not get at the problem of why Low's idea of social justice took the particular form it did and why his ideas about society developed as they did.

Kurland's failure to get at this problem is reflected in the book's curious and somewhat disjointed organization. The author has divided his subject's career into two major parts. The first covers Low as a municipal reformer, and the second deals with Low and the Civic Federation. Ostensibly the purpose of the first part is to explain why Progressive municipal reform "failed to take roots" in New York. But this purpose is never achieved; Kurland abandons the project after Low's defeat for re-election as mayor of New York in 1903, attributing that failure to the consequences of his nonpartisan convictions and his personal style as a campaigner. The second part of the book begins after Kurland acknowledges that, to him, the reasons for Low's forsaking municipal reform are obscure. So, in effect, the reader is introduced to a new purpose and a new set of problems. The historical continuity of Low's development and that of Progressivism have been lost, and Kurland bogs down into a wearying and unfortunately tendentious consideration of whether Low and Progressivism are "conservative" or "liberal" (that is, progressive). Kurland goes to great and excessive pains to defend the Federation against its socialist and radical critics. But in failing to discuss James Weinstein's critical study of the Federation, which appeared in 1968, Kurland fails to address what amounts to a resolution of his problems. Furthermore, his discussion of earlier Federation critics is little more than the assertion that he is right and they are wrong because Kurland (and Low) really know that the American working class wanted only to join middle-class society. Herbert Gutman's work should make us all wary of making such claims.

The book is then, finally, a disappointment. Seth Low's career and its meaning remain to be explained.

JOHN J. RUMBARGER

Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives

WALTER B. WEARE. *Black Business in the New South: A Social History of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company*. (Blacks in the New World.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1973. Pp. x, 312. \$10.95.

This is a solid contribution to the history of black Americans. Despite the title, it is not so much a business history as an account of the talented and multifaceted men who organized and managed the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company and used it as a base for the promotion of racial uplift on a variety of fronts.

Weare finds the antecedents of the Mutual in the mutual benefit societies and fraternal groups supported by the free black community since the late eighteenth century. Organized in 1898, the Mutual continued the mission of its beneficial precursors. Never was it just a business. In addition, it functioned as a coordinating agency for the distribution of philanthropy, as a propaganda mill espousing the self-help philosophy of Booker T. Washington, and as a widely acclaimed symbol of black progress—a symbol that both blacks and whites could applaud, though for rather different reasons. Weare traces the company from its founding to the present, but the post-World War II years receive relatively scant attention. With assets exceeding \$118 million in 1970, the Mutual has been an unqualified commercial success, but the company's managers have always employed a dual yardstick to measure their performance: commercial success and service to the black community have been closely intertwined, their business and their blackness inseparable. "They knew that if they ever tried to forget their identity, white society would always remind them. . . . C. C. Spaulding [Mutual's president, 1923-52] could give a first-hand account of the racial bond built on white hostility. In 1931 Spaulding, the distinguished business executive, became just another 'uppity nigger' in the eyes of a Raleigh soda jerk, who beat him savagely for sipping a Coca Cola across the color line" (p. 153).

Weare raises but does not deeply explore several intriguing economic issues: to what extent has black business flourished because of white hostility and the consequent racial solidarity among blacks? To what extent and on what terms have black insurance companies com-

peted with white companies? How much of the Mutual's race propaganda was simply good public relations intended to produce commercial results? One can only hope that the author will return to such questions in his further researches.

The North Carolina Mutual has hardly been a typical black business, but nevertheless its story reveals much about the black man's position in the Southern economy and society. Anyone interested in the history of black Americans can profit from Weare's well written and carefully researched account of the "company with a soul and a service."

ROBERT HIGGS

University of Washington

PHILIP S. FONER. *The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism, 1895-1902*. Volume 1, 1895-1898; volume 2, 1898-1902. New York: Monthly Review Press. 1972. Pp. xxxiv, 338; 339-716. Cloth \$11.50 each, paper \$8.75 each.

Philip Foner has written an impressive work. His concern is that Americans do not appreciate the Cuban role in what traditionally has been called the Spanish-American War. His thesis is that the Cuban military performance beginning in 1895 was the decisive factor in the final result. Intervention by the United States in 1898 simply hastened an already inevitable Spanish defeat. American military and naval involvement was not what the Cubans wanted, and it resulted in a truncated political victory for them. Far better, in their opinion and in Foner's interpretation, would have been mere recognition of Cuban belligerency by the United States. This purely political act would have permitted the Cubans to purchase arms in the United States, defeat the Spanish, and proclaim their independence.

Instead, occupation of Cuba by the United States Army gave American imperialists the opportunity to establish a protectorate that was virtually a colony. Thus, according to Foner, American industrialists, exporters, and politicians who were worried about an increasing surplus of production acquired a new market. Cuba had the additional advantage of being a geographic springboard for further economic and perhaps political expansion into the Caribbean and adjacent areas. Moreover, the island's

agricultural and mineral resources acted as a magnet for surplus American investment capital.

Foner documents his thesis of Cuban tenacity and bravery through extensive use of Cuban primary sources. He demonstrates that José Martí was as wise as he was charismatic. Antonio Maceo emerges as a truly heroic figure, and General Máximo Gómez exhibits the resolve of a George Washington. Foner makes equally copious use of documentary material in the United States, but he does not portray the Americans as noble in any sense. They are ruthless men determined to control Cuba. Herein lies a flaw of vision.

The book makes it quite evident that the Cuban revolutionaries were deeply divided over ultimate goals. As Foner reluctantly concedes, Tomás Estrada Palma, the leader of the Cuban junta in the United States and the first president of the Republic of Cuba, never desired a completely independent Cuba. And even the stoical Máximo Gómez cooperated with the architects of American occupation. Yet Foner curtly dismisses Estrada Palma for having lost touch with Cuban realities during his long stay in the United States. The deviations of Máximo Gómez from strict standards of Cuban independence are attributed to political naiveté. As for others who accepted impaired sovereignty, "These Cubans were quite ready to welcome complete American economic domination of their country so long as they could obtain a share of the profits."

Profits drove American imperialists, but coupled to greed was an equally obnoxious racism and contempt for Cubans. For example, General Leonard Wood reduced the daily death rate in Santiago from 200 to 10 while he was military governor of the city, but Foner discounts this "notable achievement" because it was "carried through with a high hand." Instead, he emphasizes Clara Barton's reports of the same period chronicling the "indescribable, prolonged and unmitigated distress of the people." If Wood's subsequent administration as governor general of Cuba was "a great success," it was because "American capitalists not only invested in Cuba, but by the time the Occupation was over, were well on the way to dominating its economic life."

The theme of racism pervades Foner's dis-

cussion of the American anti-imperialists, whose only motive appears to have been antipathy to granting eventual United States citizenship to peoples of non-Anglo-Saxon races. Their many and genuine concerns about the constitutional impropriety of colonies are neglected, just as is their very real conviction that the best way to spread democracy abroad is to practice it at home and refrain from emulating European colonialism.

None of the foregoing should detract from the merits of this substantial study. But surely other motives than greed and racism inspired many American leaders. Germany's interest in the Caribbean at a time when she was challenging the United States in the Pacific must have been a serious ideological and political concern to the American leadership, as well as an economic menace. So, too, must one treat with respect Estrada Palma's conviction that Cuba could not stand alone. Otherwise, one has a populist tract in which all virtue lies with the poor and oppressed, who readily exchange their virtue for venality when given power and opportunity. Philip Foner's research is too meticulous and his narrative too detailed to permit such a simplistic conclusion. Unfortunately many of his generalizations point in that direction.

KENNETH J. HAGAN

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HELEN E. MARSHALL. *Mary Adelaide Nutting: Pioneer of Modern Nursing*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 396. \$12.00.

"I think," Mr. Dooley once said, "that if the Christyan Scientists had some science, an' Th' doctors more Christyanity, it wouldn't make anny difference which ye called in—if ye had a good nurse." At the end of the nineteenth century good nurses were still hard to find in the United States. To be sure, there had been a proliferation of nurses training schools between 1875 and 1900, but not all of these schools were alike in quality, and the good schools did not produce sufficient graduates to fill available nursing posts. One of the training schools that was to have a profound effect on the development of standards in nursing education was that organized under the aegis of Isabel Hampton Robb and Lavinia Dock (gradu-

ates of the Bellevue Nurses Training School) at Johns Hopkins in 1889. Helen Marshall's *Mary Adelaide Nutting* is the biography of one of the first graduates of this school, an extraordinary woman whose vision of nursing education and training was to make her a singular force in the professionalization of nursing in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century.

Miss Nutting, a Canadian by birth, entered the Johns Hopkins School of Nursing as a member of the first class of thirteen students. She was then thirty years of age. Two years after graduation she was appointed assistant superintendent of nurses, and in 1894 she succeeded Isabel Hampton Robb as superintendent. If Mrs. Robb had a vision of nurses training and education, Miss Nutting helped bring that vision to reality. During her tenure as superintendent, she succeeded in modifying the previously exhausting two-year program of nurses training and substituted in its place a three-year program of nursing education as well as training. In so doing, she helped establish the principle that nurses training schools were educational institutions, not merely service adjuncts or sources of cheap labor supply for hospitals.

In addition to her labors as superintendent of nurses at Johns Hopkins, Miss Nutting played a key role in the growing professionalization of nursing through her work with the Society of Superintendents and Associated Alumnae, the drives for state registration of nurses, the organization of the *American Journal of Nursing*, and above all her writing, which includes a four-volume *History of Nursing*, written with Lavinia Dock; *The Educational Status of Nursing*, written for the U.S. Department of Education; and various essays collected and published under the title *A Sound Economic Basis for Schools of Nursing*.

In 1907 Miss Nutting joined Columbia University Teachers College as professor of nursing education and with the aid of Dean William Russell, Lillian Wald, and a benefactress, Helen Hartley Jenkins, helped transform a one-year course in hospital economics into a school of nursing collegiate education. Professor Marshall's biography has recorded in stunning detail the professionalization of nursing in the United States. She has also given us a living portrait of a remarkable woman; in sum,

a first-rate contribution to the history of women, social welfare, and medicine in the United States.

SAUL BENISON

University of Cincinnati

ARTHUR S. LINK *et al.*, editors. *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*. Volume 14, 1902-1903. (Sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and Princeton University.) Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972. Pp. xx, 588, \$20.00.

This volume covers Wilson's first year as president of Princeton University. Bitter fights would later surround him in this office, but these papers document the "honeymoon" period of Wilson's presidency and his widespread support among alumni, trustees, and faculty. All three groups expected Wilson to halt the decline into which their college had fallen under the stewardship of Francis L. Patton. Wilson planned to do just that. Bluntly informing the trustees soon after his appointment that the university could no longer claim first rank, he demanded twelve and a half million dollars in new endowment—to pay for new schools of electrical engineering and jurisprudence; a residential graduate school; new professorships in history, economics, and biology; and, closest to Wilson's heart, the appointment of fifty young scholars as undergraduate tutors. At this time Wilson distinguished his plan for what eventually became the preceptorial system from the Oxbridge tutorial model only by saying that it limited tutors to five-year terms because the English experience taught that a man went "to seed" (p. 274) when tied to tutoring for life. The numerous transcripts and reports of Wilson's speeches before various groups of alumni and friends of the university illustrate the profound conservatism of his educational thought, his evident discomfiture with the "academic revolution," and his attempts to carve for Princeton a role of leadership as a champion of higher education's traditional purposes within a modern context. (The private correspondence in this volume gives no hint that Wilson, Princeton's first president who was not a minister, was tailoring his public statements for an audience that knew and loved Princeton as a college.) Unlike so many of his contemporaries in university presidencies, he concentrated on undergraduate rather

than graduate training. His desire for a graduate school had more to do with its possible role in elevating undergraduate education—he wanted it built in the midst of the undergraduate campus—than it did in the production of scholars. He sought to structure a college capable of generating the intellectual excitement characteristic of the best graduate schools without the narrowness, impracticality, and isolation from reality that also characterized graduate education.

This volume includes eight reviews of Wilson's most widely read historical work, *A History of the American People* (1902), which show that the era's professionalizing academic historians regarded Wilson primarily as a literary historian who contributed little but a Southern viewpoint—which they welcomed—to advancing the understanding of American history. Wilson spoke openly of his distrust of the new scientism in the study of man and society, making fun of "sociology" before the Commercial Club of Chicago, pillorying those who abstracted the "economic man" from the real world for study, and admitting that although he wanted to write a philosophy of politics some day, his practical mind disliked philosophical discussions (p. 322).

This volume contains more than its share of personal correspondence between Wilson and his wife, which highlights both the couple's intense love for one another and Wilson's great excitement at the challenges presented by his new position.

As we have come to expect—and perhaps no longer adequately appreciate—this volume is meticulously edited and beautifully printed. As a one-time resident of Princeton with a fading memory of its geography, I would have liked a campus map included in this volume, the better to follow the architectural planning that, inevitably, played so prominent a part in a college president's correspondence.

ROBERT L. CHURCH
Northwestern University

EMILY FARNHAM. *Charles Demuth: Behind a Laughing Mask*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1971. Pp. xvii, 238. \$9.95.

The twentieth-century American artist Charles Demuth merits a biography because of the quality of his paintings, his friendships and

connections with other famous artists and cultural figures during an important era in the nation's cultural development (1910–35), and his influence among the current practitioners of fashionable "pop art." Demuth, born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, came from wealthy, old American stock. He received his formal training at Philadelphia's Drexel Institute and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. An early visit to Paris prompted him to move away from the classical traditions of these schools for the more abstract and angular forms of Cezanne and the Cubists. Demuth embraced a variety of genres—landscapes, posters, book illustrations, still lifes, and architectural-industrial subjects—and was at home in both watercolors and oils. In addition to his work, sojourns in Paris, New York, and Provincetown put him in close touch with leading figures in the arts, literature, and the theater, people such as Gertrude Stein, Alfred Stieglitz, Eugene O'Neill, and William Carlos Williams.

Emily Farnham, a painter and art historian, does justice to the technical aspects of Demuth's work and influence. Unfortunately she is not as successful in integrating his work with his personality or in using Demuth's life to refract broader developments in the arts and humanities. These drawbacks are due either to Demuth's extraordinary sense of privacy, which left his personal papers and writings bereft of intimacy and prevented him from sharing his inner feelings with his friends, or to a failure of insight on the part of the author. In any event the book rarely gets beyond the recounting of unimportant detail and superficial description to the exploration of Demuth's deeper motives and attitudes or to a sensitive evocation of the cultural scene during his lifetime.

FREDERIC COPLÉ JAHNER
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JESSE THOMAS CARPENTER. *Competition and Collective Bargaining in the Needle Trades, 1910–1967*. (Cornell Studies in Industrial and Labor Relations, volume 17.) Ithaca: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University. 1972. Pp. xx, 910. \$17.50.

The Protocol of Peace that terminated the 1910 strike of New York cloakmakers resulted from hard bargaining by Jewish social demo-

crats, anarchists, and Fabian socialists on one side and rugged individualists on the other, all of them less than a generation out of the East European Jewish shtetls. With a Boston brahmin named Brandies as chairman, they hammered out a collective agreement. With chutzpah they announced that it would banish strikes and lockouts forever in the most chaotic, conflict-ridden, competitive, and unpredictable industry in the economy.

Although the Protocol was dead in six years, its innovations have endured. The origin and history of these are traced in nine hundred pages packed with fascinating detail and in which Professor Carpenter is chiefly concerned with the impact of collective bargaining on competition in the women's garment industry.

Scattered errors, such as the assertion that the New York Dress Institute still functions, may be forgiven in so massive a work. But history is violated by making sweatshop employers champions of "efficiency and economy of operation." In fact it was brutal exploitation and the race with the clock that compelled sweated workers to "engineer" their own devices of speed and efficiency until Julius Hochman, in behalf of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in 1941, made management inefficiency a bargaining issue because ultimately it was underwritten by the worker.

More serious is the curious reasoning by which Professor Carpenter concludes that since the Protocol, the objectives of needle trades unions have been to impose a single standard pay rate on the industry, to control competition by limiting the number of contractors the jobber is allowed to use, and to "combine" with employers' associations in a "war" on nonunion workers and "illegitimate" firms.

These conclusions ignore the frenetic product competition of the garment industry, style as imperfect competition, the hectic bargaining of price settlements for each style, and a standardized method of rate determination that puts the rate on the work and not on the worker.

Despite the massiveness of his work, Professor Carpenter fails to understand the nature of collective bargaining in the garment industry as Herbert H. Lehman and Lindsay Rogers understood it in 1924, as Senators Ives and Taft understood it in 1949, as Congressmen Lan-

drum and Griffin and Senators Kennedy and Ervin understood it in 1959.

The survival of garment workers, and the public interest, required the abolition of the sweatshop. The Protocol attempted such abolition, the unions fought for it, and ultimately the government underwrote it. It did so by deliberately excepting the garment industry from key provisions of boycott and antitrust legislation. Only by ignoring the record of those exceptions can Professor Carpenter contemplate a return to pre-Protocol competition as being in the public interest.

LEON STEIN
Justice

PAUL L. MURPHY. *The Constitution in Crisis Times, 1918-1969*. (The New American Nation Series.) New York: Harper and Row. 1972. Pp. xviii, 570. \$10.00.

This is a solid and worthy book of constitutional history in the New American Nation series, covering post-World War I through the Warren era. Its strengths are Paul Murphy's strengths: perceptive appraisal of constitutional ideas in their social and intellectual milieu, excellent organization, and enormous use of primary and secondary materials. Its main weaknesses stem largely from the textbookish nature of the series: encyclopedic, and necessarily diluted, coverage of a vast array of Court cases and other episodes, and an undue number of errors in the last, packed, part of the book. There is a very comprehensive bibliography and extensive footnotes, happily at the bottom of the page.

The Constitution in Crisis Times is primarily about the role of the Supreme Court in the context of changing political and intellectual climates. Although the growth of presidential power is noted, especially during World War II and the Vietnam escalation under Johnson, the book has little discussion of the changing relationships of the executive establishment and Congress, the federal balance, or the realities of constitutional rights in the hustings (urban or rural).

The best chapters in the book are on the period to 1933, with Murphy sensitively delineating the conservative legal ethos of Taft and his kind, and then the contrasting, lesser trends

(later to dominate) of legal realism and constitutional liberalism. On the New Deal and the Hughes Court, Murphy correctly underscores the significance of the great confrontation of the mid-1930s, describing its outcome as "the crucial turning point in modern constitutional history" (p. 154). He seems contradictory, however, in criticizing the work of the first brains trusters as "constitutionally vulnerable," while at the same time denigrating the Court's "societal myopia" in striking down the early New Deal. If the early laws were indeed on shaky ground (which was so mainly in terms of what the courts were used to), why expect a conservative Court to lean over to support them?

Murphy is very fine on the Court and the issues of the 1940s, particularly the developing split over the preferred position doctrine. Frankfurter's conflict with the libertarian group is carefully drawn, from his break with Stone over the Jehovah's Witnesses flag salute to his temporary triumph in the late 1940s in coalition with Vinson conservatism.

When the book gets into the Warren era, which is the subject of about one-third of the text, the result is more mixed. Murphy does an outstanding job of interweaving the diverse patterns of Court decisions with the shifting focus of public and political reactions. But he tends to pass by the basic analysis that the great cases require. Thus, the Court's opinion in *Brown*, as distinct from the controversies about it, is presented in but two sentences. (The Court's reasoning is not tracked at all.) At the same time, Murphy misses the opportunity to highlight Warren's eloquence in such opinions as *Reynolds*, *Miranda*, *Robel*, and *Powell*, where the chief justice spoke more to fundamental American values than to legalistic formulas. Although many cases are given paragraph-length discussion, hundreds of others are presented with one-line excerpts or one-sentence summaries; their handling is inevitably uneven, ranging from precise distillation of First Amendment cases to many misplaced emphases in the criminal law field.

Perhaps the massive assimilative task confronting Murphy accounts for the big blooper in the book, that "Hugo Black surprised both his brethren and legal commentators alike in late 1966" (p. 441) with his *Adderly* opinion, which upheld the trespass convictions of Flor-

ida blacks who were peaceably demonstrating before a segregated jail. Black, of course, surprised no one following the Court (let alone his brethren), since he had been voting almost regularly since 1964—in dissent—to confirm convictions of militant, albeit nonviolent, demonstrators.

Murphy's moderate-liberal, "balanced" position is quite clear. In a good final chapter he writes favorably of the broad stream of Warren era trends: in refurbishing long-ignored constitutional protections of equality and liberty; in undertaking actions that neither the Congress nor the president seemed fit or willing to carry out; in sum, in making the Constitution relevant again. Yet he refers to the Warren Court's "excessive activism" and includes this surprising sentence on the Court's impact: "Unleashing dissident minorities from legal and social strictures and pressures that had repressed and held them in check for many years resulted, at times, in the immediate abuse of their new freedom and the inability or unwillingness on their part to accept the responsibility that such freedom entailed" (p. 463). What in the world is Murphy talking about?

As a broad-canvassed demonstration of what traditional historians can bring to Supreme Court studies, Murphy's book is probably without contemporary peer. But the book also reveals the necessity for more substantial input from the converging disciplines of political-science behaviorism and legal-type analysis. Murphy is properly critical of the narrow framework of most behaviorist studies; yet use of some of the more significant work of Schubert, for example, would have added another dimension (on the voting relationships among the justices) to Murphy's history. The law school people fare better with Murphy; indeed, although decrying their "shallow formalism," he accepts their conventional criticisms of the Warren Court's opinion writing—but mostly without demonstrating why.

Murphy asserts that "a growing school of modern constitutional historians [is] filling the gap" in judiciary studies. Although I found little evidence of this in the bibliography, perhaps the large number of unpublished dissertations Murphy cites promises a future outpouring. It is to be hoped that the best of these contributions, especially on the recent era, will

combine Murphy's classical concern for careful chronology and in-context appraisals, with due familiarity and appropriate use of the principles and findings, if not all the methodologies, of allied disciplines.

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JOAN HOFF WILSON. *American Business and Foreign Policy, 1920-1933*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1971. Pp. xvii, 339. \$9.95.

This author selected a subject especially effective in reminding historians of their hazardous authorship. The ins and outs of United States involvement in the diplomacy of the war-torn twentieth century have ensured a mounting reader-author activity, while confusion has been worse confounded by a plethora of accelerating forces. Daringly engaged in surmounting at least some of the hazards, Joan Wilson carefully staked out the claim she would mine. Believing that modern United States diplomacy was founded upon World War I and the situation immediately following it, she chose the period of 1920-33. Therein she would mine only for materials deposited by the "business community"—the entrepreneurs engaged in financial or business enterprises—eschewing those deposited by farmers and professional people. Furthermore, the work must be confined to movements and issues wherein businessmen exerted pressure upon the formulation of foreign policy, whether successfully or unsuccessfully. Exaggeration or underestimation of the pressures must be guarded against.

These cautions and concentrations could not free the author from the problems raised by the diversity within the business community itself, which caused wide variations and contradictions in the exercise of pressure. One is forced to the conclusion that there is no such being as "the businessman." His economic self-interest and ideas differ from time to time according to his occupation, his sectional location, whether his environment is rural or urban, and whether he is part of a large or small firm with differences in organization consequent upon varying dimensions of the firms. On such factors depended whether businessmen were concerned in exerting influence and the kind of influence they sought to exert. Two

trends pointing toward newly significant contradictory influences emerged in the chosen thirteen-year period. A few very large organizations developed the beginnings of conglomerate firms, with introduction therein of a decentralized structure aiming at efficiency; their effects, in time, increased the points of contact between business and government but also made their pressures more diverse and even contradictory.

Business dissented from itself under the march of time. Less than one per cent of United States business, before 1940, employed more than 100 persons, and small-firm domination of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers was not displaced until the early 1930s. The view tended to be backward—to an earlier era thought to be more comfortable—while in actuality businessmen were striving to operate in an economy of greatly increased international importance. Inconsistencies in statements public and private, and in directions of pressure, perforce ensued. The many-sidedness of the business community moved the author to avoid chronological treatment in the narrow sense. After an opening chapter on general business views and foreign policy trends dated 1920, there follow six chapters on the years 1920-33, separately assigned to disarmament and the peace movement, American commercial policy, Hoover and foreign loan supervision, Allied war debts and German reparations, manifestations of the closed door, and manifestations of the open door. A closing chapter glimpses the future in Manchuria, 1931-33.

On the whole the author has developed her analysis with enthusiasm, industry, and care. Since it is a many-sided treatment, it can arouse the admiration, and raise the hackles, of a wide variety of readers other than economists and historians alone—for example, bankers, businessmen (big and little), internationalists, isolationists, pacifists, psychologists, and sociologists. Some of them may be jolted by the author's conclusions, where she caps qualified details with uncompromising overall analysis. I found the presentation, in most cases, refreshingly realistic. A personal note may be ventured: another female author, to whom a publisher of yesteryear denied the satisfaction of

using an affectionate dedication, is gratified to observe that the University Press of Kentucky in the seventies is not averse to permitting an accolade to a loving and patient spouse.

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS
University of Pennsylvania

ECKHARD WANDEL, *Die Bedeutung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika für das deutsche Reparationsproblem, 1924-1929*. (Tübinger wirtschaftswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, number 11.) Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1971. Pp. xi, 332. DM 37.50.

Wandel's book was completed shortly before W. Link's more comprehensive study of the American influence on Germany 1921-32 appeared. It breaks the ground for the now-confirmed view that the United States, far from being really isolationist during the 1920s, had an unadmitted but real interest in the events on the old continent and that she tried her hand at giving them the right direction. Officially the U.S. government consistently denied any interdependence of inter-Allied war debts and German reparations. Practically, however, there would have been no payments by the former European Allies without these German reparations. The Dawes plan envisaged Germany earning the necessary foreign currency through her exports, but the high U.S. tariff was a serious obstacle to this. The Germans, instead, used for the transfer the dollars coming in as loans. Washington and Wall Street approved of this procedure, since it helped ease the pressure of an abundance of available capital without endangering the domestic boom.

Obviously Germany's ability to pay would diminish as soon as these loans flowed less abundantly. The American P. S. Gilbert, agent general for reparations in Berlin 1924-30, therefore worked actively toward a revision of the Dawes plan. With the resulting Young plan, possible after the reluctant Coolidge had terminated his office, the Germans lost the currency protection the Dawes plan had granted, but they gained a free Rhineland. They saw no overwhelming difficulty in accepting this bargain, since the American financiers, in their own interest, would try their best to keep Germany afloat. Hoover's moratorium of 1931 was to honor this confidence.

Wandel's work, a doctoral dissertation, is not without flaws. Considering the fact that his major point is the inextricable linkage between American, British, French, and German interests, the failure to dig into French or British sources in any appreciable way is a noteworthy omission. In the work itself quite a few repetitions and occasional contradictions bespeak the author's toil and labor. But he nevertheless aptly shows the American leadership's dilemma of having to present to the public an isolationist attitude while actually being involved in Europe through the sheer force of the facts.

U. SAUTTER
University of Windsor

RICHARD H. PELLIS, *Radical Visions and American Dreams: Culture and Social Thought in the Depression Years*. New York: Harper and Row. 1973. Pp. xv, 424. \$12.50.

If the economic depression after 1929 turned American intellectuals more firmly toward the left, the New Deal inspired them to a redefinition of the American dream. Professor Pellis's valuable contribution to the intellectual history of the 1930s focuses on those writers and intellectuals who, though socialists and collectivists in their ideas, refrained from direct immersion in politics. Lewis Mumford, John Dewey, Robert Lynd, Sidney Hook, and Reinhold Niebuhr receive particular attention, but the author also analyzes an impressive range of the creative writing and periodical literature of the decade.

Repelled by the individualism of the 1920s, the radical intellectuals espoused social democracy in their quest for community. But, as Pellis emphasizes, "the collective search for knowledge might give way to intellectual conformity, altruism could turn into obedience, the socialization of the individual might end in his smoother adjustment to the status quo" (p. 115). Collectivism, however idealistic, had authoritarian, conservative implications. Although the majority avoided the danger, some of the writers who condemned the bohemian irresponsibility of the 1920s accepted the new conformity of the Communist party and its Popular Front. Obsession with proletarian culture provided a means by which bourgeois intellectuals might discharge their guilt feelings

and achieve a vicarious sense of militancy. But the workers' conservative tastes and the new nationalistic culture enhanced the appeal of the commercialized mass media of Hollywood. Already by the 1930s, Pells writes, "the age of the book was giving way to the age of sight and sound" (p. 252). Although writers and artists "were attracted to mass culture as part of a general fascination with the customs and attitudes of the average man" (p. 266), the world crisis of the late 1930s aroused their patriotism and inhibited their radicalism. "Ultimately, the insistence on cooperation among all good anti-fascists resulted in the decline of the intellectual as a critic of American culture and society" (p. 318).

As America moved from depression to war, the more bellicose intellectuals—Mumford, Niebuhr, and Hook—called for the selective suspension of the Bill of Rights and the coercion of recalcitrant minorities. Mumford argued that the United States could not overcome the Nazis until it developed its own version of the German *Volk*. Looking to the future, Professor Pells concludes that the radical intellectuals of the 1930s, by committing themselves to a new World War II version of the American dream, "were laying the foundations for their own postwar emergence as a privileged elite, the tough-minded tacticians of anti-Communist diplomacy, the indispensable experts in a managerial society, . . . the well-adjusted servants of the modern state" (pp. 361–62).

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.
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AUGUST MEIER and ELLIOTT RUDWICK. *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942–1968*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xii, 563. \$15.00.

CORE was founded in 1942 by a predominantly white group of Christian pacifists dedicated to the achievement of a racially integrated society through nonviolent direct action. A quarter of a century later it was a virtually all-black organization dedicated to the achievement of black power through ghetto solidarity and separatist rhetoric. In its first phase, which lasted until 1965, CORE was the cutting edge of a dramatic breakthrough against Jim Crow

and disfranchisement. The second and current phase has been marked by vanishing income, declining membership, and lack of visibility.

CORE's first phase was divided into two parts. From 1942 to the mid-1950s it was a tiny organization with chapters in a few northern and border-state cities. A pioneer of the sit-in and other direct-action techniques, CORE played an important role in the desegregation of restaurants, hotels, amusement parks, and other facilities in these cities. In 1947 it carried out the first freedom ride—a journey of reconciliation through the upper South to test a Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in interstate buses. CORE declined in the early 1950s, partly because the desegregation of public accommodations in the North ironically removed the targets that had given it much of its early impetus. But the Montgomery bus boycott and especially the student sit-ins of 1960 galvanized the movement anew, this time in the South. Although CORE had not initiated either of these actions, it soon forged to the front of the movement. CORE's freedom ride of 1960 was one of the most important single incidents in the crusade of the 1960s. As CORE grew it broadened its goals to include voter registration in the South, campaigns against job and housing discrimination in the North, and eventually antipoverty efforts in urban ghettos. But again, success and expansion planted the seeds of decline. CORE's efforts helped build the momentum for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, but these achievements removed the most visible, and as it turned out, most vulnerable targets. As CORE began to move against police brutality, slumlords, discriminatory labor unions, and *de facto* school segregation, it came up against a wall of resistance that proved impossible to overcome. Frustration with failures in these areas combined with the revolution of rising expectations and produced bitterness even as the movement was riding the crest of what would have appeared a few years earlier to be an incredible triumph. One fruit of this bitterness was growing antiwhite sentiment within CORE. For most of CORE's history its membership and leadership had been predominantly white; even as late as 1964 more than half its members were white. But already the old CORE was dying. The 1966 national

convention abolished the nonviolence requirement; the 1967 convention deleted "multiracial" from CORE's constitution; in 1968 whites were officially excluded from active membership.

Meier and Rudwick's history of CORE is by far the best account of a civil rights organization that we have; it should serve as a model for future studies of SNCC, SCLC, the NAACP, and other groups. The authors have done a staggering amount of research, consulting nearly forty manuscript collections in private hands in addition to CORE archives in various libraries and the papers of numerous national figures connected with the civil rights movement, working through the files or clipping collections of dozens of black and white newspapers, and conducting 215 interviews with persons active in CORE. Meier and Rudwick are especially lucid in their discussion of CORE's internal racial tensions and its organizational structure. The latter, however, presented the authors with an organizational problem of their own in putting together this book. Since CORE chapters were largely autonomous most of the important action took place at the local level. To understand this action it is necessary to examine the personnel and activities of dozens of different chapters. Meier and Rudwick have done this in great detail but sometimes at the expense of coherence and readability. The reader can easily lose sight of the forest while making his way through these trees. But it is hard to see how the book could have been organized differently, and the thorough accounts of local activities contribute to the study's greatest asset, its comprehensiveness. Although the word "definitive" is overworked in evaluations of books, this one deserves that encomium.

JAMES M. MCPHERSON
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Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946, volumes 9 and 10, *The Far East: China, 1947*, volume 7, *The Far East: China*. (Department of State Publications 8561; 8562; 8613.) Washington: Government Printing Office, 1972. Pp. vi, 1536; vi, 1427; vi, 1477. \$7.00; \$6.75; \$6.75.

"The fact was that the decay which our observers had detected in Chungking early in the war had fatally sapped the powers of resistance of

the Kuomintang. Its leaders had proved incapable of meeting the crisis confronting them, its troops lost the will to fight, and its government had lost popular support." This "fact" appears and reappears through more than four thousand four hundred pages of the newest China volumes of the 1946 and 1947 *Foreign Relations of the United States*. It is Dean Acheson's "fact" and it sounds the theme of his "Letter of Transmittal" to President Truman in *United States Relations With China (1944-1949)*, which draws on the materials, then unorganized and unpublished, here under review.

In the space provided to survey this mountain of documents the primary responsibility must be to outline their subject matter. Not that "everything" is here, of course. Anyone familiar with government archives knows what an auctioneer's warehouse they present—torrents of dispatches from the field (where exist innumerable agencies, operatives, reporters, and foreign residents) with their attendant Washington commentaries, directives, orders, and memorandums. As has been argued recently regarding the "Pentagon Papers," moreover, much of what is decided at the highest levels may not be committed to paper at all, residing only in the memories, immediately distorted, of those involved. The orderly chapters of the *Foreign Relations* series, although welcome and invaluable, create in the midst of thickets and brambles a tidy little putting green with the real bunkers and traps not in sight.

The two volumes for 1946, comprising nearly three thousand pages, contain many of the principal papers of the Marshall Mission and thus extend a few months into 1947. In addition to this mighty subject the 1946 set includes much documentation on lend-lease, repatriation of Japanese forces (which, as in Indochina, had been retained by the Allies to "keep order" in non-Communist areas), disposal to the Chinese of surplus property (which, as is clearer in the 1947 volume, masked direct military aid to one side in a situation "mediated" by the United States), correspondence involving American firms wishing to enter the always tempting and so-elusive "China market," discussions on the status of Outer Mongolia, and a failed U.S. Army proposal to aerially map all of China. These two

volumes, as is usual, have a moderately useful index; lest I sound ungrateful, it is much better than none at all.

The 1947 volume, continuing after Marshall's recall, is interesting for different reasons, revealing as it does much more about the sort of men (and what a solidly male enterprise it was!) who served America in China. They were supervised by Dr. J. Leighton Stuart, ambassador in Nanking and paradigm missionary-old-China-hand. Less condescending and hand-wringing are the dispatches of O. Edmund Clubb from Manchuria, George H. Kerr from Formosa, and Colonel David D. Barrett, ex-Dixie Mission now returned to Nanking from home leave, and the memorandums in Washington of John Carter Vincent. If one were unaware of the charges eventually leveled against Stuart's subordinates, the notion that they were pro-Communist would be ludicrous. Their anticommunism is plain; what is equally plain and, of course, led to their several ordeals is their lucid commentary on Dean Acheson's "fact": the disintegration and demoralization of the Nationalists.

Like its predecessor volume, 1947 contains a melange of documents, ranging in subject from the capture and release by the Communists of two strayed American officers (an exciting miniature drama), to the establishment of the Chinese Fulbright Program of which it is obvious a woman should have been the director: "The Embassy is in fact of the opinion that . . . only Wilma Fairbank is really qualified to draw up such a program." The embassy suggested, naturally, that the executive secretary be a "man."

Three of the most riveting topics in this volume, which display, too, its variety, are the Wedemeyer Mission, the Formosa uprisings, and the strategic implications of Tibet. The Wedemeyer dispatches provide a good picture of the mission from its inception to the general's return. The celebrated report itself is merely footnoted to *United States Relations with China (1944-1949)*, which is ironically appropriate since at the time Marshall suppressed it.

The Taiwanese rebellion and its aftermath, a capsule revelation of the workings and implications of KMT rule, should have sounded alarm bells all over Nanking and Washington,

but as George Kerr, top Formosa expert and lowliest of the low among Foreign Service officers, discovered in Washington, this particular stench could be snuffed out before it reached the public nostril. A reading of the sterile official reporting during the bloody KMT reprisals should be augmented by Kerr's later personal account in *Formosa Betrayed*. Ambassador Stuart evidently respected Kerr but never allowed himself to get too close to the subject, despite a few remonstrances to Chiang Kai-shek.

Tibet presents a fantastic look into the fevered "strategic thinking" of our embassy in India, which conceived, in view of Asian "disorder," that "conservative" Tibet "might offer the only extensive territory where air and rocket launching operations might be based. . . . The Tibetan Plateau in an age of rocket warfare might prove to be the most important territory in all Asia." Acheson turned this down flat. In the meantime, in a series of touching letters dated "the Tibetan Wood Bird Year," the Tibetans were writing warmly to President Truman, the "Tree of Life of all countries in the world at present." The Dalai Lama sent along a "special scarf (Nang Zod)" and a framed portrait.

In the midst of the preoccupations with how to support the KMT against the hated Communists "without interfering in a civil war," the en masse defection of American-trained divisions, the collapse of the economy, the tightening grip of the C-C clique, Stuart's tiresome patience with Chiang Kai-shek and sorrow over anti-American students, Marshall's constant wish that "liberals" could lead the way, and Washington's reminders of "U.S. aims," what is missing? The revolution. The official Americans saw only crisis, collapse, defeat, and despair. The Communists were portrayed as disciplined, fanatical, zealous, and even honest. But the "fact," as for Acheson, was the Nationalist failure. For the rest of the story it's back—yet again—to Graham Peck, Jack Bel-den, William Hinton, and Edgar Snow.

JONATHAN MIRSKY
Dartmouth College

RUSSELL D. BUHITE. *Patrick J. Hurley and American Foreign Policy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 342. \$14.50.

This workmanlike and judicious study first traces Hurley's career: a poor boy in the mines, a young attorney in Washington for the Choctaw Nation in Oklahoma, a lawyer and real estate operator who got rich in Tulsa during the oil boom, a soldier who saw action in World War I. Though largely uneducated, Hurley had a magnificent presence, dauntless egotism, and native political shrewdness—a man bound to rise. He became Hoover's secretary of war and a foe of Philippine independence, then a negotiator in Mexico for Sinclair Oil, and finally a foreign observer and trouble shooter for FDR in Australia, the Soviet Union, and the Middle East. He was a brash operator who sized up situations quickly and dealt with personalities to make deals. In China he was out of his depth.

Mr. Buhite's careful use of the Hurley papers makes the ambassador's eccentric course more intelligible. The Hurley appointment to China appears to have originated with Stimson. They had been cabinet ministers together under Hoover, and they agreed on the Philippines. But Hurley had never worked on a team. Always a prima donna and lone-wolf negotiator, he followed FDR in distrusting the State Department and the Foreign Service. His Fourth of July Americanism gave him the platitudes of the Atlantic Charter, but no insight into alien societies. He was not only culture-bound, but Hurley-bound. When he finally blew up and resigned in November 1945, his attack on the "pro-communism" and "pro-imperialism" of the State Department did not include the Soviet Union as an enemy, because he had dealt personally with Joe Stalin and believed him. It did include British, French, and Dutch imperialism as enemies, because he had become aware of their efforts to recover their colonial territories. Although Hurley became an object of Chinese derision and Foreign Service detestation, the record shows that the main lines of the Kuomintang-Communist party coalition effort undertaken under General Marshall's ambassadorship in 1946 had all been developed under Hurley. The United States policy remained throughout inadequate, and Hurley's contribution to the American disaster in China, judging from Mr. Buhite's work, was less in policy matters than in his personal style and manner of operation. Even if

his support of Chiang Kai-shek had been less all-out, American withdrawal from the old order in China would still have been very difficult. Hurley wound up making wild charges in the Joe McCarthy era. A trained diplomat working with the Foreign Service officers in China might have smoothed the path of our withdrawal to some degree. But any government that could send Pat Hurley to represent it would be bound to have had a hard time facing the facts of history.

JOHN K. FAIRBANK
Harvard University

LATIN AMERICA

JORGE E. HARDOY. *Pre-Columbian Cities*. New York: Walker and Company. 1973. Pp. xxxvi, 602. \$19.95.

The great pre-Columbian cities of Latin America were the receptacle of everything the ancient peoples who built them knew and aspired to. It is Professor Hardoy's task to know them all, to analyze and compare, and to bring their totalities into a comprehensible focus. First published in Buenos Aires in 1964, the work is now translated into English and revised to include the many relevant historical and archeological studies that have since appeared. The one adjective that best describes this book is encyclopedic: it abounds in technically correct physical descriptions of archeological sites, together with excellent photographs, and cultural analyses employing historical, anthropological, and sociological levers and lenses. One is always conscious of factual mass and the magnitude of this study; yet Professor Hardoy is unrelenting in his command of detail, which is never permitted to obscure larger considerations.

This is in large part a work of synthesis that covers the major portions of the Western Hemisphere. Thus, *Pre-Columbian Cities* is necessarily based on the research and writings of many individuals whose work is rooted in several disciplines. And like most syntheses it has limitations that appear to have origin in the nature of synthesis itself. For example, some of the source works that were consulted suggest new lines of inquiry or new methods and interpretations that are not incorporated into the

text. There can be several contributing factors to such exclusions: the author of the synthesis might not have necessary research materials or the opportunity to study them; he might lack competence in a particular area; he might fail to perceive the ultimate relevance for his own study. There is also the factor of consensus. To what extent can a work of synthesis suffer controversy within itself? Synthesizers commonly view revision as inimical to synthesis, and consequently rule incorporation into their own work by a criterion of current consensus. That is why works of synthesis, however useful they may be, almost never serve as the cutting edge of research.

Considering the dimensions of his canvass and the essential unevenness of the state of knowledge pertaining to his subject, Professor Hardoy's synthesis is understandably broad and loosely jointed. This causes him to grasp at consensus, but it also lends advantage in that it suggests considerable comparative analysis between the hemispheres: the ruins of Teotihuacán and Tiahuanaco prove to be mutually illuminating.

This volume fills a long-standing need and does so with impressive breadth of mind and scholarship. In fact it exceeds mere synthesis by augmenting further study in this significant and fascinating area of urban history.

R. C. PADDEN
Brown University

SAMUEL J. HURWITZ and EDITH F. HURWITZ. *Jamaica: A Historical Portrait*. New York: Praeger Publishers. 1971. Pp. xii, 273. \$9.50.

This study claims to have focused special attention on the historical factors contributing to the development of the contemporary character of Jamaica, but in my opinion it has only partially accomplished this task. Although much of the analysis is sound, a number of important socioeconomic factors that underlie the serious and long-standing sense of alienation of a significant portion of the masses from the middle and upper sectors of the population have been ignored or played down. In fact there is only the briefest mention of black radical forces in Jamaica since the 1880s, such as Garvey and the Ras Tafari movement.

In general the study suffers from an overem-

phasis of the island's political history, especially during the pre-emancipation era, and a decided propensity on the part of the authors to ascribe the most lofty motives to British public opinion, the Imperial government, and its colonial officials throughout the colonial era. Indeed the most serious indictment of *Jamaica: A Historical Portrait* is its obvious rejection (albeit tacit) of the thesis that the drive for the abolition of slavery was at least in part, if not largely, motivated by economic factors—namely, the emergence of new economic interest groups in the United Kingdom whose commercial ties with the Far East (especially through the East India Company) and the newly emerging Latin American countries called for an end to preferential duties levied for the benefit of the increasingly uncompetitive West Indian sugar producers. Dr. Eric William's work on *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944) is notably absent from the bibliography as are a number of other important studies dealing specifically with Jamaica and/or its relations with the "mother country" (for example, Bernard Semmel, *The Governor Eyre Case* [1962], C. L. R. James, *The Case for West Indian Self-Government* [1933], E. B. Underhill, *The Tragedy of Morant Bay* [1895]). L. S. Meikle's 1912 study of Jamaica's future in the British Empire and B. M'Mahon's *Jamaica Plantership* (ca. 1837), perhaps the single most important critique of the slavery system in Jamaica and written from firsthand knowledge based on over a decade and a half of experience as a plantation employee, are both ignored. The influential Henry Taylor memorandum of 1839 is likewise ignored.

A few quotations will perhaps best illustrate what most specialists in the area today would undoubtedly characterize as specious and wholly archaic attempts to "whitewash" British imperial history. The authors see the "diverse opinions and varieties of thought" in late eighteenth-century England as giving rise to "a movement whose major concerns were moral rather than economic. . . . [and to whom] the satisfaction derived from striving to drive evil from the world was greater than any material achievement" (p. 88). They also agree with Lord Grenville's assessment of the British government's antislavery efforts as constituting "one of the most glorious acts that had ever

been done by any assembly of any nation of the world" (p. 98). Although one could cite numerous examples of de facto slavery existing within the British Empire after 1838—"black-birding" in Queensland, Australia, for example, or indigenous slavery within some of the British West African colonies up to at least the beginning of the present century, or forced labor and the accompanying atrocities carried out by British railway and rubber interests in the Amazon at the turn of the century—this did not deter the authors from arguing that the economics of slavery never became an important issue during the emancipation controversy. They contend that "slavery in the British Empire did not wither away" but rather was brought about by "the pressure of public opinion organized and inflamed by zealous religiously oriented humanitarians who held that the enslavement of man by man was morally reprehensible and could not be tolerated by any civilized government" (p. 152). Nowhere is there any appreciation of the economic interests of leading abolitionists like Wilberforce, Lushington, or Cropper.

Far too much credit is also given to the Abolitionists for the advancement in status of the free coloreds and blacks in the decade prior to the end of slavery. Likewise the study fails to recognize the impact that the emerging political and economic strength of the free colored middle class had on the colony's political structure and this group's ability to create a real security threat through a possible alliance with the slaves in the event the plantocracy attempted to lead Jamaica out of the Empire to union with the United States or continued to resist their demands for improved political and civil rights. Nor is there any recognition of the authorities' realization that the Christmas slave rebellion of 1831 was only a harbinger of what the future held if the increasingly restless Jamaican slaves were to continue to be held in bondage. In short too much attention has been given to antislavery pressures originating in Britain and almost none to forces in the Caribbean, which at least did not go unnoticed by officials on both sides of the Atlantic.

The treatment of events after the end of slavery is less controversial (although such important topics as indenture and immigration are totally ignored), but at the same time little

new light is shed on events leading up to the establishment of the nation in 1962.

GRAHAM KNOX
University of Calgary

CHARLES C. CUMBERLAND. *Mexican Revolution: The Constitutionalist Years*. With an introduction and additional material by DAVID C. BAILEY. (The Texas Pan American Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1972. Pp. xix, 449. \$10.00.

This posthumous second volume of the late Charles C. Cumberland's history of the Mexican Revolution has been awaited for two decades since his volume on the Madero years was published by the University of Texas Press in 1952. The present work was left unfinished by the death of Professor Cumberland in 1970, and Professor Bailey has performed a labor of love in completing it, providing an introduction, and sharing in the ever-essential editing.

Readers familiar with Professor Cumberland's first volume will certainly be impressed with the increased depth and scope of this one. Both are works of sound scholarship, documented from United States and Mexican archives, as well as from the memoirs of many active participants in the events treated, and carefully related to other historical research. But the present book also profits from two decades of the work of other scholars such as Jesus Silva Hertzog, Howard Cline, Robert Quirk, and Peter Calvert, among many whose work might be mentioned—work stimulated to a major degree by the observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the Mexican Revolution in 1960.

The special strength of this volume lies in its carefully documented account of the military-political aspects of the Carranza period, especially of the years leading up to the Constitution of 1917. Chief among its merits, in my judgment, is the clear and forceful presentation of Carranza's defense of national sovereignty in Mexico's foreign relations, especially, but not exclusively, those with the United States. On the other hand, the author does less than justice to Woodrow Wilson's Mexican policies and to those of the Latin American republics, especially the ABC powers that lent their good offices, as in the Niagara Falls Conference.

I also find the interpretation of the social as-

pects of the history of these years somewhat less than adequately treated. In explaining the changes in national life brought by the Revolution, Professor Cumberland relied largely on two elements, mobility of population and a shift in the governing elite (pp. 270-72), neglecting to bring out the ethnic mestization and economic changes behind these phenomena. Nor is much attention given to the Indian in the discussion of agrarian reform, education, or nationalism. The discussion of religious issues is dealt with objectively, bringing out Carranza's policy of enforcing the laws governing the Church, but restraining over zealous anticlericalism. Considerable light is thrown on the

relation of Carranza to the growing labor movement.

Professor Bailey was probably right in deciding merely to list the works referred to in footnotes, since Professor Cumberland had not prepared a bibliography. For Professor Bailey to have added a critical bibliography would have meant substituting his own critical judgments for those of the author. But scholars will certainly regret the lack of the critique that Professor Cumberland could have made, based on knowledge gained from a lifetime of research on the subject.

HAROLD EUGENE DAVIS
American University

Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication of such a communication or of any part of it is solely at the editors' discretion. Limitations of space require that a communication concerning a review be no longer than the review to which it refers and in no case longer than 500 words. Communications concerning articles or review articles may be no more than 1,000 words, and the editors reserve the right to impose a lower limit. The schedule of publication and the time needed to send a communication to the author of the article or review in question for such reply as he may care to make virtually preclude the possibility of publication in the issue following that in which the original article or review appeared. Unless, in the editors' judgment, some major scholarly purpose is served, rejoinders will not be published.

TO THE EDITOR:

Herbert G. Gutman's sprawling article, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919" (*AHR*, 78 [1973]: 531-88), contains another of his repeated criticisms of what he calls "older labor historians," myself included. He criticizes the "older labor history" on two major accounts: "Because so few workers belonged to permanent trade unions before 1940, its overall conceptualization excluded most working people from detailed and serious study. More than this, its methods encouraged labor historians to spin a cocoon around American workers, isolating them from their own particular subcultures and from the larger national culture."

I cannot speak for the others, but as for my

own contributions, it appears to me that Mr. Gutman has read little of the four volumes of the *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* which I have thus far published. Since the trade unions sought, some more so than others, to increase their ranks by organizing those who were not members of their organizations, no account of the operations of the labor movement can sensibly ignore the conditions, problems, even culture and/or subculture of workers who were to be organized. Indeed, a considerable portion of my volumes is devoted to an analysis of the conditions and lives of the unorganized workers on the eve of the unionizing drives in a particular industry, and what they themselves brought to these campaigns, especially in bitter strikes. Furthermore, I pay attention throughout these volumes to the conditions of black and women workers, most of whom, until recently, remained outside the orbit of the permanent trade unions. I am afraid that Mr. Gutman has taken too literally the title *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*.

No one in the field of labor history can but welcome additional studies that reveal aspects of the rich culture of the American working class (just as he should welcome further studies of the history of trade unions in specific communities and industries). But to assert, as does Mr. Gutman, that this area has been totally neglected by the "older labor historians" is to distort the facts. Indeed, a fair amount of the evidence presented in his current article has already appeared in historical works by "older labor historians," including my own volumes. Space limitations prevent spelling this out in detail, but I need only point out that the theme of fear of industrialization and the

need for "a second Independence Day" to restore the ideals of the Republic, which occupies several pages in Mr. Gutman's article, is present in each of my volumes at different stages in my discussion of the development of the labor movement. What Mr. Gutman has done, as he concedes at the end of his article, is to fracture historical time, ranging forward and backward, thus bringing together in one discussion a theme that appears in several separate volumes. Whether this is a valid historical procedure I leave for others to judge, but certainly it does not add significantly to the point as originally presented in works by an "older labor historian." One gets the impression, too, that Mr. Gutman is the first labor historian to make use of the rich tradition of songs and poetry of the American working class. But there are numerous examples of this in each of my volumes, and I have brought together several hundred American labor songs from the nineteenth century that will be published early in 1974 by the University of Illinois Press. I mention this merely to note again that interest in bringing to light the rich culture of the American working class is not confined to Mr. Gutman and his disciples.

A final word of caution. I agree that labor historians must pay more attention to the vast majority of workers who for so long remained outside the trade unions, and we certainly need much more research into the areas of the history of the black worker and the woman worker. But one must guard against equating a momentary outburst of unorganized workers with an organized, long-lasting strike that ended in a permanent trade union. We cannot, I believe, as does Mr. Gutman, devote the same attention in writing labor history to a 1903 food "riot" of Jewish women in New York City protesting against rising prices of Kosher meat, important though this is, as we should to the 1909 uprising of the 10,000 mainly Jewish women in the needle trades of New York, which paved the way for the formation, on a permanent basis, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

PHILIP S. FONER
Lincoln University

PROFESSOR GUTMAN REPLIES:

The communications section of the *AHR* is

hardly the place to discuss in detail the relationships between the "older labor historians," Mr. Foner among them, and newer work in the field. There are important conceptual and methodological questions involved, and a serious discussion of them, long overdue, belongs more appropriately in the pages of a more specialized journal such as *Labor History*. I would welcome such a discussion. It is made more appropriate by the renewed interest in "labor history" among younger historians.

Mr. Foner agrees that labor historians should "pay more attention to the vast majority of workers . . . outside the trade unions." But by pitting the 1902 (not the 1903) food riots against the 1909 "uprising of women needle trade workers," not much will be learned about those outside unions or those who form them. It is the relationship between these two events—one seemingly "archaic" and the other quite "modern"—that deserves the attention of historians. What Mr. Foner calls a mere "momentary outburst" often serves as a vital clue to the social historian dealing with working-class beliefs and behavior.

That is also the case with poems and songs. It is good to learn that Mr. Foner has edited for publication a volume of "labor songs." Such evidence, as I suggested in the article, often directly or indirectly contains clues to beliefs and behavior. In itself, the publication of a song or a poem is not proof that workers had a "culture." Cultures exist independently of such forms of expression, and songs and poems as well as "riots" allow us to study what, if anything, is distinctive about such cultures.

Mr. Foner is quite right to emphasize the need for further studies of "the history of trade unions in specific communities and industries." My article and earlier publications merely suggest additional questions to be asked in such studies so that more is illuminated than just the important study of the trade union as a form of self-protection.

HERBERT G. GUTMAN
City College,
City University of New York

The following letters have been received in connection with the publication of Edward Shorter's article, "Female Emancipation, Birth

Control, and Fertility in European History,"
 AHR, 78 (1973): 605-40.

TO THE EDITOR:

Professor Edward Shorter's article was truly fascinating, and I enjoyed thinking about his perceptive analyses. My reflections resulted in several observations that I would like to share with Professor Shorter as well as other interested readers; they are meant as adding, rather than detracting, from his insights. Allow me to put my remarks into the context of his concluding questions (pp. 632-33).

In answer to Shorter's first set of questions about the increased awareness of proletarian women of their autonomy as a consequence of changes in the economic structure, I would like to propose some interesting sidelights from my own (limited, no doubt) experiences in searching through the Stuttgarter Staatsarchiv and Landesbibliothek. It seems to me (I say "seems" because I have been interested in a different aspect of the history of women) that one must remain open to at least two other elements determining this possible awareness. First, let me note the "modernizations" of Württemberg's legal structure and content toward the end of the eighteenth century in response to arguments for greater equality between the sexes. These legal improvements did not result from lower-class pressures, but from arguments of intellectuals, lawyers, and politicians who had discovered the humanitarian content of Enlightenment (even late cameralistic) thinking on the injustice and disadvantage of brutal and crude punishments for prebridal and premarital sexual activities and for the frequent results of pregnancy and efforts to eliminate offspring. In this case, public opinion—at least the expressed variety—was years behind the rulers and bureaucrats sitting in Stuttgart.

Second, the market place had not changed all that much in Württemberg by the end of the eighteenth century, leading me to the assumption that Shorter could have achieved a greater degree of refinement in his emphasis of the influence of capitalism on the emergence of women's autonomy. I agree with him that women were already becoming more aware of their individuality before the turn of the

century, but I tend to feel that they made this adjustment as a result of exceptional educational opportunities. Württemberg, as Shorter knows, had provided widespread public education for both sexes since the mid-sixteenth century. Maybe too, the fighting relationship between the dukes and the estates in that area introduced a kind of family cementing into the upper and upper-middle classes that allowed these types of women much greater societal importance, and thus autonomy, than would have been possible in the preindustrial lower classes. Who, after all, stood behind the men in their fight against the dukes' military and other expenditures?

I would argue, therefore, that for Württemberg, and possibly for other areas, some major modification might have to be introduced into the author's tentative conclusion about the great impact of early capitalism on women's breakthrough to autonomy. Let me expand the present observations to include the whole German area, giving a different emphasis. Although he sees the romantic period as having a considerable impact on female Weltanschauung and sexual behavior, I would place much greater emphasis on eighteenth-century writings—like those of Gellert and his wife—about the status of women. Or, from still another perspective, I would like to have known what influence the structures of eighteenth-century homes had on outlook and sexual behavior. Does Shorter think that the ensocialization of lower- and middle-class homes—with their tightness in contrast to upper-class establishments—exerted a determinable impact on intercourse frequency? Norman Elias's *Die höfische Gesellschaft* should provide us with a starting point for some enlightening insights into this topic and the difference between the French and German experiences.

Shorter's third question, about the connecting line between the feminist movement of the late nineteenth century, again in Germany, and the increasingly autonomous lower-class women of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, brings me to one of the central themes in his essay: the individualization of the lower-class women with the resultant increased birth rate. Although I am generally ready to accept his argument that these women made the first step toward autonomy, I do not see it

reflected in the experience of Württemberg before the turn of the century. More important, what connection does he see between the eighteenth-century "liberating" literature on women and the nineteenth-century feminist movement? Also, is there a connection between the changing status of eighteenth-century upper-class women (salons, schools, empresses, mistresses, professional activity—*Handelsfrauen*) and the later movement? Did the Enlightenment have any influence at all in loosening up traditional behavioral patterns? (If it did not, why did German conservatives fight it toward the end of the eighteenth century?) Was the French Revolution, and the counterstruggle in Germany, with the vast impact on law and the position of women, of no consequence in changes? What impact did the spread of public education—including specialized women's courses—have on nineteenth-century feminists? (Note especially that women became teachers again in the middle of the nineteenth century.) What role did the constantly improving judicial systems play in the alteration of interfamily relationships? (Laws often predated public pressures for equality/autonomy, providing more and more equality.)

I have tried to make it clear that I am not in disagreement with the basic facts of Professor Shorter's article, but I am somewhat puzzled about the emphasis that he places on capitalism as the background to greater female autonomy—and recognition thereof. In other words, I agree with his concluding observation about the limited scope of European historical demography, but I hope that he will go on to expand his fascinating comments to include the full range of possible stimulants to increased birth rate of married and unmarried women in the period from 1750 to 1850.

PETER PETSCHAUER

Appalachian State University

TO THE EDITOR:

Edward Shorter acknowledges as "speculative" his hypothesized connection between female emancipation and the increase in fertility from 1750 to 1850. While such speculation necessarily involves a playful attitude toward available evidence in order to suggest fruitful avenues for additional research, it must nevertheless

remain consistent with whatever evidence does exist. Let us examine the evidence used by Shorter in support of his thesis. He relies on three types: historical surveys of prescriptive sexual literature; contemporary observations on the sexuality of women; and, most important, demographic studies of fertility. Historians have been increasingly skeptical of the ability of the first two sorts of evidence to describe behavior. Moreover, Shorter wields a free hand with the analytical integrity of his secondary sources. For example, he cites R. P. Neumann's article in support of his contention that "capitalism meant the formation of a proletarian subculture," when that article focuses on the cultural continuity between agrarian and industrial experiences.

The bulk of his proof, however, is demographic studies. What does his evidence show? That the impressive rise in fertility between 1750 and 1850 was located disproportionately among young women. What does Shorter make of this finding? He attributes increased fertility among young women to their growing sense of personal autonomy, to female emancipation. How does he do this? By equating personal autonomy among young women with increased frequency of intercourse. With no other evidence than the assumption that emancipated women are young and sexually active, Shorter presses capitalism into service as his explanatory agent. His logic thereby becomes even more distended, confusing not only freedom and sexual activity but also age and class. He assumes that both youth and working-class subcultures are inherently erotic ("The proletarian subculture was, of course, indulgent of eroticism" [p. 621]) and therefore equatable. Nowhere in his analysis do working-class girls grow up or middle-class matrons experience adolescence; the basic demographic concept of the life cycle escapes him.

Shorter's evidence suggests an explanation of the 1750–1850 fertility rise that contradicts his own theory. If we sever the unsupported connection between emancipation and increased frequency of intercourse, we find a more promising line of inquiry. Increased frequency of intercourse and increased likelihood of child-bearing may reflect a situation in which alternatives for women are shrinking rather than expanding. In 1750, on the brink of indus-

trialization, just as new possibilities were appearing for women, new family structures emerged to reassert social control and the reproductive imperative; the companionate marriage that evolved in this period may be acting to restrain women, rather than, as Shorter argues, to increase their autonomy. The bulk of the evidence suggests that the emancipation of women developed in the mid-nineteenth century and was therefore coincident with the post-1850 decline in fertility. In the absence of birth control women choosing to improve the quality of their lives were not likely to choose more intercourse and increased likelihood of pregnancy.

The historical experience of women is central to demographic change. In this we agree with Edward Shorter. The analysis of this historical connection requires, however, more logic and faithfulness to evidence and less unsupported assumptions than we are offered in his article.

KATHRYN KISH SKLAR
University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor
ELLEN DUBOIS
State University of New York,
Buffalo

TO THE EDITOR:

Having just returned from a sabbatical year abroad, I only now read Norman Rich's review of Harald von Riekhoff's *German-Polish Relations, 1918-1933* (*AHR*, 77 [1972]: 1440-41). It seems to me that Professor Rich draws somewhat unwarranted conclusions from Riekhoff's balanced and judicious study. The latter, as I understand his book, does not assign equal blame to Germany and Poland for their inter-war hostility; rather, while emphasizing Poland's mistakes, he is quite explicit about the extreme German revisionism that made co-operation with Poland in the Weimar period impossible. See for instance his second paragraph on page 381 and his lines on the last page of the book: "The history of Germany's foreign policy vis-à-vis Poland . . . is a story of failure." Furthermore, Riekhoff's book covers only the Weimar period, which as we know was followed by the German-Polish declaration of nonaggression of 1934 and a détente

between Berlin and Warsaw. Hence, it is strange to read in the review that "German-Polish tensions would never have been resolved until either or both sides had been exhausted in the conflict or until both were brought under the domination of a superpower, as is now the case."

Professor Rich believes that Poland should have sought "good relations with Germany after 1918" and not opposed "a readjustment of German territorial claims." Put in more precise language, that meant for Poland giving up her access to the sea and abandoning lands that were not only "long under German dominion" but had a Polish majority and had been taken over by Prussia in the partitions of Poland. And what about the international context of all this? Does Professor Rich still subscribe to the old cliché that the war of 1939 started because of Danzig?

Professor Rich is of course entitled to his views. But I cannot help wondering if by imparting them to us rather than thoroughly analyzing Riekhoff's study he does not do a disservice both to the book and to the readers of the *AHR*. Surely *German-Polish Relations* deserved a more careful analysis of its content, sources, and approach than provided in this impressionistic review.

PIOTR S. WANDYCZ
Yale University

PROFESSOR RICH REPLIES:

I was very sorry indeed that Professor Wandycz found my review of Harald von Riekhoff's excellent monograph impressionistic and inadequate, but sorrier still to have been so grievously misunderstood by a scholar of Professor Wandycz's eminence.

Having just completed a study of Hitler's war aims and the horrors that took place in Poland after 1939, I read Professor von Riekhoff's book with a feeling of deep sadness, and in my review I attempted to focus on those aspects of his work that seemed to explain the failure of German and Polish statesmen to do anything significant by way of resolving the differences between their peoples in the Weimar era. My attempt to describe the reasons for German anti-Polish sentiment (based on the evidence in Professor von Riekhoff's book) was evidently

taken by Professor Wandycz to be a summary of my own views, which was in no way the case.

Professor Wandycz accuses me of misrepresenting Professor von Riekhoff by assigning equal blame to Germany and Poland for their interwar hostility. Yet in my review I not only made use of exactly the same passages cited by Professor Wandycz in his letter, but even amplified the point. "Professor von Riekhoff concludes," I wrote, "that the history of Germany's relations with Poland during the Weimar period is a study in failure in political conception and practical application. The only redeeming grace he finds in German policy was 'the firm commitment on the part of the German government to seek a revisionist solution by peaceful means,' whereby it succeeded in preserving peace, however precariously, during the Weimar era."

With respect to Polish policy Professor Wandycz quotes me as saying that Poland ought to have sought "good relations with Germany" and not oppose "a readjustment of German territorial claims." In the process he leaves out almost an entire paragraph between the quoted passages and totally misrepresents my meaning. What I did say (again on the basis of evidence provided by Professor von Riekhoff) was that the Poles, with the menace of the Soviet Union on their flank, might have seen their national interests best served in making every effort to reconcile Germany to the new political situation in Europe. The Polish government, however, like that of Weimar Germany, was swept along by popular fears and resentments, it carried out harsh and often vindictive measures against the German minority in Poland, and, fearing that any concession to German revisionists would be a prelude to a fourth partition of Poland, steadfastly opposed a readjustment of German territorial claims. By this I certainly did not mean to imply that Poland should have made territorial concessions to Germany, but rather to bring out another point that seemed to me to emerge from Professor von Riekhoff's book as to the reason for German-Polish hostility.

Finally, Professor Wandycz seems to suggest that Hitler's nonaggression pact with Poland in 1934 and the subsequent détente between Berlin and Warsaw was the kind of relationship with Poland that the Weimar government could

and should have sought (or am I being excessively impressionistic?). If this is indeed Professor Wandycz's meaning, it represents a confidence in the value of Hitler's treaties that might be considered misplaced, to say the least. As for myself, I do not *still* subscribe (and never have) to the theory that the 1939 war started over Danzig, and I seriously question the propriety of unwarranted insinuations of this kind. To Professor von Riekhoff I apologize for any disservice I may have done him or his book.

NORMAN RICH
Brown University

TO THE EDITOR:

Kenneth S. Lynn's review of June Sochen's *The New Woman: Feminism in Greenwich Village, 1910-1920* (*AHR*, 78 [1973]: 741) criticizes Professor Sochen for not inquiring into "maladjustments in their home lives" that may have led Sochen's representative women into Greenwich Village radicalism. Sochen, he says, has been more of a mythmaker than a historian because she ignored the "psychological problems" of her subjects.

Lynn's review reveals the bias and irrelevance of much current psychohistory. Who cares about the home "maladjustments" of those radical women, unless one's view is intensely biographical? What about the vast majority of Americans who also have "psychological problems," generally disguised within establishment cultural and socioeconomic life-styles? Is radicalism a suspect category, inexplicable other than in psychoanalytic terms?

The women in Sochen's book were "heroic pioneers" (to use Lynn's terminology, intended to be arch), whose abortive revolution *has* been revived by Friedan, Millett, and Firestone—whether their incipient propulsion toward protest and commitment stemmed from familial disjunction, frustrated sexuality, or intellectual idealism. Cultural history needs to focus, not on the pervasive matrix of personal psychoanalytic-type motivations, but on the particular societal configurations that governed the actors' participation. Were historians to get bogged down in doctrinaire Freudian motivation theory (increasingly dubious to most modern psychiatrists and psychologists), we would enter a

wasteland far more fruitless than the simple economic determinism of Beard and Parrington.

ARNOLD M. PAUL
California State University,
San Jose

TO THE EDITOR:

I am grateful to Professor Ball for his favorable remarks on my edited work, *The Passing of the Great West: Selected Papers of George Bird Grinnell* (1972). Nevertheless, I feel it necessary to correct an inaccuracy in his review (*AHR*, 78 [1973]: 492-93). He asserts that I make "no effort to reveal the intellectual ties between Grinnell and the Republican president [Theodore Roosevelt]," after contending that "Grinnell's statements 'prepared' . . . Roosevelt for the environmental plans of Gifford Pinchot."

If Professor Ball had read the book's introduction more carefully, he would have seen that I do include a citation at the end of my discussion on Grinnell's place in conservation history. The note reads as follows: "Grinnell's central role in the conservation movement up to 1901 is documented in the editor's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 'George Bird Grinnell and the Development of American Conservation, 1870-1901' (Northwestern University, 1970)."

Surely this constitutes an "effort" to give the reader the source of my claim for Grinnell's influence on Roosevelt, even though *The Passing of the Great West* could not go into that subject because the book ends in 1883, a fact that Professor Ball makes clear in his review.

JOHN F. REIGER
University of Miami,
Coral Gables

TO THE EDITOR:

"This is didactic history," Alan Cassels exclaims in the opening sentence of his review of my book, *Mussolini and Fascism: The View from America* (*AHR*, 78 [1973]: 743-44), as though he had touched a disease. The reviewer apparently feels there are no "lessons" to be learned from "America's admiration of Mussolini's Italy" that "may help us analyze the fascism within ourselves." Cassels may choose to dis-

miss what I choose to discuss, but there are important subjects whose relevance seems to have escaped him.

"And is it really necessary to discuss John Dewey and Hannah Arendt, who by the author's own admission, had little to say about Italian fascism?" Cassels, a diplomatic historian of modern Italy seemingly more comfortable with archival research (from which I have benefited), is unwilling or unable to come to grips with one of the major theoretical arguments of the book: the inability of American intellectuals to comprehend the historical significance of fascism. Dewey, one of my intellectual heroes, tried but failed; he was as politically innocent about the meaning of fascism as he was about communism, and to many of his followers his philosophy offered no basis for assessing either "experiment" other than awaiting the consequences. This "pragmatic" approach to totalitarian politics reminded me of Hobbes's definition of truth—hell seen too late. As for Hannah Arendt, she was, I believe, one of the first to discern that a Western liberalism rooted in the Enlightenment lacked the philosophical background for understanding fascism as a social and ideological phenomenon. The conservative writer Peter Drucker also elaborated this theme, as did T. W. Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Max Horkheimer, and other members of the Frankfurt school exiled in America. I am not entirely convinced by the argument (were Marxists, Hegelians, Kantians, or Thomists any better prepared to comprehend fascism?), but I find the problem an intriguing one in intellectual history.

Cassels also burns me for poaching on his territory, and here his profound observations rise from the bland to the banal. "Diggins is more at home in American than European history where he is guilty of some loose generalizations. For instance, Dino Grandi's reputation was more (or less) than that of an 'urbane diplomat,' which is why U.S. anti-Fascists demonstrated against his visit in 1931." After devoting several pages explaining the organizational efforts made in opposition to the visit, I described the "urbane" Grandi as a "diplomat to the core" because of the way he handled himself in Washington and particularly the tactful manner in which he interceded in behalf of a youth who had been arrested for "inciting

a riot" when he jumped on the running board of Grandi's car and shouted "Down with Fascism!" Grandi had the charges dismissed and even paid bail for the youth's release. *Webster's* defines urbane as "1. courteous and polite, esp. in an elegant way; 2. smoothly polite, suave." (For the later adjective, see the photo of Grandi standing between Hoover and Stimson.) Cassels

tells us, with great insight, that Grandi's reputation was something other than that of an "urbane diplomat," and it is this that accounts for the protests and demonstrations. Now why didn't I think of that before?

JOHN P. DIGGINS
*University of California,
Irvine*

Recent Deaths

The death of MARY (MÁIRE) D. CONDON on October 28, 1971, in San José, California, has saddened those who knew her luminous qualities as teacher, scholar, and friend. Born in Los Angeles in 1916, Professor Condon was educated in Catholic schools until she transferred to UCLA in her junior year. During World War II she served as a lieutenant in the navy. Returning to California after the war, she studied Irish and British history at the University of Southern California, earning her Ph.D. in 1960. After teaching for several years at East Los Angeles City College, she joined the history department at San José State College (now University), where she taught courses in Irish, British, Commonwealth, and European history until her death.

For over twenty years Professor Condon struggled with incredible courage and resilience against the melanoma that eventually consumed her. Prolonged pain and intermittent surgery never deprived her of a spirited sense of humor and seemed only to enhance her compassion for the sufferings of others. Only her immediate family, her doctors, and close friends could appreciate the indomitable nature of her spirit in the face of so many bleak prognoses. In keeping with her deep devotion to her profession she insisted on teaching her classes even when she knew that the end was near.

Professor Condon's life was much more than a losing battle against adversity. She was intensely involved in living and in imparting her learning and counsel to others. Relentless in the pursuit of knowledge, she was generous with the fruits of her researches. In the course of teaching and writing she tried to convey not only the realities of the Irish past but also the

meaning of "Irishness"—what it meant to be Irish, Catholic, and poor within the nineteenth-century imperial context, which was essentially English, Protestant, and prosperous. Long before social and economic history became fashionable in Irish historical circles, Professor Condon was exploring in a fresh and vigorous way peasant society and the land tenure system in pre-famine Ireland. Her doctoral dissertation on restricted land tenure in the 1820s and 1830s amply attests to her unrivaled knowledge of Irish land law, landlord-tenant relations, and the tithes question in that area. Ill health prevented her from publishing the bulk of her writing on the Irish land question, but her article on Whig ministers and Irish tithes in the *Journal of British Studies* (1964) gave promise of a major contribution to the history of agrarian society in the age of O'Connell that she did not live to complete.

Gifted with a finely critical mind and steeped in the primary sources of her field, she was both an exacting critic and a demanding teacher in the best senses of those adjectives. Her terse and unpretentious book reviews in various journals were models of the reviewer's craft. To the discomfiture of more than one historian she took the time to check footnotes and quotations in the books she read and reviewed. As a private critic of work submitted to her by friends and colleagues, she had an unerring eye for flaws in argument or evidence.

Professor Condon was an active member of the Conference on British Studies, the American Committee of Irish Studies, and the American Catholic Historical Association. A discriminating collector of books herself, she also devoted much time and thought to building a special collection of books and documents on

Irish-Americans in California for the library at San José. The university has established a memorial fund in her name—contributions to which are invited—for the purchase of books on Irish subjects.

Gentle of soul, full of laughter, rich in intellect, she will be remembered and cherished by those who came to know her in the course of work or travel from California to Ireland. Family, friends, colleagues, and students have lost a vital and radiant personality. She gave so much of herself to help others, even though her own life-sustaining resources were depleted in the process. She combined fortitude and erudition with compassion and sensitivity: rare qualities which, taken together, constitute an exemplar of the true scholar and teacher.

L. P. CURTIS, JR.
Brown University

BERNARD KNOLLENBERG, historian and former library director at Yale, died July 6, 1973, at the age of eighty. A graduate of Harvard Law School, he practiced law in New York from 1921 to 1939 with the firm of Lord, Day and Lord. During World War II he was deputy administrator of the Lend-Lease Administration and head of the Far Eastern division of the Office of Strategic Services. He was the author of *Washington and the Revolution, A Reappraisal: Gates, Conway, and the Continental Congress; Origins of the American Revolution: 1759-1766*; and *George Washington: The Virginia Period 1732-1775*.

GEORGE LICHTHEIM, who died, suddenly and prematurely, in London on April 22, 1973, was a splendid combination of journalist, man of letters, and cultural historian. Born in Berlin, Germany, on November 6, 1912, he left the country after the advent of Hitler in 1933 and went to Jerusalem, where he became foreign editor of the *Jerusalem Post*. In 1946 he moved to London and there, except for occasional forays to the Continent and long visits to the United States, he remained until his death. While he held no regular academic posts, spoke with amused disdain of students, and had little desire to teach, his visiting stints at Columbia University and at Stanford between 1964 and 1966 proved him to be an extraordinarily stimulating influence—to the stimulating. He

was truly caviare to the general; the more one brought to him, the more one received in return. In small circles, and among those he respected, Lichtheim was anything but forbidding; he was as charming and witty as his writings.

Lichtheim's heart was certainly in writing rather than in teaching, and he wrote with precision and elegance. In 1957-58 he acted as an associate editor of *Commentary*, and he continued to contribute to it, as to other journals, long, learned, and felicitous articles on imperialism, on politics, and on modern culture. As a freelance writer he was prolific, and even ventured into the field of textbook writing with his recent *Europe in the Twentieth Century* (1972), a book which, characteristically, begins with a consideration of imperialism and, equally characteristically, gave abundant space to modern philosophy and the modern novel. Probably his most widely read book is *Marxism: An Historical and Critical Study*, which he published in 1961 and brought out in a revised edition in 1965. It displays his intellectual virtuosity in rich abundance; while it is sympathetic to the humanist aspects of the Marxist vision, it is distinguished by his rigorous commitment to the independent critical spirit, and it is, like nearly all his work, trenchantly, beautifully written. As a close and tough-minded observer of French politics and of the Western world in general, and as a gifted and well-informed historian of the nineteenth century, Lichtheim was something of a pessimist and became more of a pessimist as the years passed. The decay from the liberal decency and the critical adventurousness of the nineteenth century seemed to him all too obvious and all too painful. Lichtheim feared the growing power of mindless technology, opposed what he regarded as the amorality of the positivists, and hated the irresponsibility of so many modern intellectuals, who seemed all too willing to embrace fashionable irrationalism, and play games with nauseating political nostrums like fascism or apologize for the murderous regime of Stalinism. He combated such fashionable irresponsibility in all his writings and stood firmly, in contrast, on the ground of what he called the critical philosophy that he associated with Kant, Hegel, and Marx. It was the business of philosophy, he wrote, "to bring

reason into the world, including the world of the sciences," and his despairing conviction that philosophy was in fact neglecting its business marked his view of modern history. Still, his despair never excluded wit; Lichtheim felt himself responsible not merely to critical philosophy and truthful history, but also to the demands of the writer's craft. We are the richer for his having lived, and his books will be his monument for those not fortunate enough to have known him.

PETER GAY
Yale University

ROBERT A. LIVELY, a specialist in U.S. economic history at the State University of New York at Buffalo, died August 6, 1973. He was chairman of the history department there from 1968 until his resignation in February 1973, but he continued to teach in the department until his death. Born in Birmingham, Alabama, Dr. Lively received his A.B. (1943) at Birmingham-Southern College and his M.A. (1947) and Ph.D. (1950) from the University of North Carolina. From 1955 to 1968 he taught at Princeton University, serving as director of their Center for Studies in Twentieth-Century American Statecraft and Public Policy from 1964 to 1968. His published works include *Fiction Fights the Civil War* (1957), *In All Our States* (1960), *In the Americas* (1962), *Beyond the Americas* (1964), and *Public Education in Princeton* (1965).

W. DARRELL OVERDYKE, professor of research and Southern history at Centenary College, Shreveport, Louisiana, died June 21, 1973. A native of Cherokee, Kansas, he was born August 7, 1907. Dr. Overdyke received his A.B. from Centenary in 1928 and had been a member of the faculty there since 1934. He earned his A.M. in 1930 from Louisiana State University and his Ph.D. in 1941 from Duke University. He was the author of the following books: *The American Party in Louisiana*, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South*, *The Samuel Rawlinson Letters*, *Sanity in an Insane World*, and *Louisiana Plantation Homes: Colonial and Ante-Bellum*.

DORIS MARY STENTON, daughter of Joseph and Amelia Parsons, was born at Woodley, near Reading, on August 27, 1894. Educated at the

Abbey School, Reading, she entered University College Reading in 1912. She graduated in 1916 and became an assistant lecturer of the college a year later. She became the first, and so far the only, nonhonorary D. Litt. of the university in 1948 and was one of the first readers appointed in 1956. She was elected a fellow of the British Academy in 1953. She received an honorary Doctor of Laws at the University of Glasgow in 1958 and an honorary Doctor of Letters at the University of Oxford in 1968. She delivered the Raleigh Lecture of the British Academy in 1958 and the Jayne Lectures for the American Philosophical Society in 1963. She died at Reading on December 29, 1971, after a stroke that left her unconscious for the last week of her life.

For almost the whole of her academic life she was the wife and devoted companion of Sir Frank Stenton. There was no doubt in her later years that when she referred with characteristic emphasis to "Him" it was Sir Frank and not the Almighty who was intended. She gave her energies as housewife, chauffeur, in the later years as nurse, and finally as editor. Their long and happy partnership may now seem unusual in one respect: they never produced a work of joint authorship. Perhaps they never needed to; everything they did was done together. Yet her independence as a historian also owed much to his generosity and to her own independence and toughness of mind. She was determined, her convictions were strongly held, she had no respect for the slipshod or the lazy and little patience with irresponsibility as she saw it. In all this she could express herself pithily: "I see that . . . and . . . have been doing some beagling" was her comment on one important contribution to medieval studies in her later years. She preserved many of the formalities of her era—she might refer to the other great woman among her fellow medieval historians simply as "Cam"—but her generosity toward and interest in young scholars remained with her to her closing years. Indeed few scholars of her time here have been so generous, for as an editor she laid bare the intricacies of the Exchequer and the law courts of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries for a whole generation of historians.

Her qualities as a scholar were many. At the outset she knew and loved the English country-

side, and she came to it in the best way, on foot and above all by bicycle. She has left a wonderfully fresh record of her expeditions in the summer of 1918 in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, often in the company of "F.M.S.," through the Midlands to Lincolnshire, and on holiday in the Welsh Marches: "4 June Tuesday. Rode by way of Oxford road to Goring—Blewbury— $\frac{3}{4}$ hr. to do the bad hills—Harwell—Northampton—Southampton to Steventon—fat lands at Steventon like sea when the wind blows across top of corn—Hanney—East and West Hanney very big villages—Stanford—lunch in road to lot meadows. Chinnem farm, where looked for pots."

In her youth and prime she had tremendous energy. In the winter of 1923–24 arrangements were made to revive the then moribund Pipe Roll Society. Doris Stenton became the secretary and editor. By midsummer 1924 she had drafted appeals, added 47 new members to the 101 established contributors, laid down new editorial conventions, and edited or supervised the editing of the first roll of the new series for Richard I's reign. When she retired from the society's editorship in 1961 she had carried the series to 14 John. Of the twenty-three rolls she edited twenty herself; the rest were edited by her pupils. Her activities soon won her recognition. Writing from his sick bed in January 1927 J. H. Round wrote, "It was a great achievement to bring out the latest two volumes *together* [*Pipe Rolls* 3 and 4 Richard I]. The list of 'institutional members' is not only most impressive but places the society, I hope, on a firm and lasting basis—which we owe of course to yourself. Indeed it must make you proud to think that but for yourself it must have come to an end long ago." But this was not her sole interest. In 1921 she was at work on the assize rolls of John's reign. *The Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls* (1926) was followed by *The Earliest Northamptonshire Assize Rolls* (1930) and by seven volumes of plea rolls and rolls of the king's court edited for the Selden Society between 1934 and 1967. She still found time to produce a chapter on Henry II for the *Cambridge Medieval History* (1926) and in her later years, *The English Woman in History* (1957), a work that led her to accumulate a splendid collection of sources, but only proved a temporary diversion.

She was a superb editor. She understood records. Her introductions were masterly. The introduction to *The Lincolnshire Rolls* is a *locus classicus* on amercements. *The Northamptonshire Rolls* still contains the best short introduction to the actions heard before the justices in the county courts. The introductions to the Pipe Rolls are in fact a history, a set of annals based on perceptive insight into the records of the reigns of Richard I and John. The introductions to *Pleas before the King or His Justices* (1953–67) are essential to the understanding of essoins, the role of the justiciar, and the composition of the bench in the late twelfth century and the reign of John. By some instinct, perhaps also through the advice of others, of Canon C. W. Foster, and above all of her husband, she had established herself at a critical point in the development of the subject. At the start she corresponded with T. F. Tout, James Tait, R. L. Poole, C. T. Flower, and J. H. Round, who advised her on the indexes to her early volumes in the Pipe Roll Society. The work soon gave her an incomparable systematic knowledge of the reigns of Richard I and John. Already in 1928 she was able to advise and correct F. M. Powicke, then engaged in his contribution to the *Cambridge Medieval History*, on the chronology of the year 1191 and the interpretation of Magna Carta c.17. Few have ever established themselves as authorities so rapidly.

Out of this in her later years there came two major works quite different in character. Her contribution to the Pelican History of England, *English Society in the Early Middle Ages* (1951), was a deliberate attempt to construct history from the varied and disconnected materials of which her knowledge of the record sources gave her command. It was a deservedly successful book, indeed unrivaled as a means of introducing the student to the evidence, a work of art with a hard core to it. Her Jayne Lectures, *English Justice between the Norman Conquest and the Great Charter* (1964), which also embodied her Raleigh Lecture on *King John and the Courts of Justice* (1958), distilled her mastery of the early legal sources into a brief original discussion of the origins of actions and the courts of law. It was characteristic that she emphasized an entirely practical and apparently insignificant development: "The real leap for-

ward came when the King and his advisors devised the formula of the returnable writ." In this time of her pomp she also completed the edition of *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals* (1950), which had been begun by Lewis Loyd, and in an important paper, "Roger of Howden and Benedict" (*English Historical Review*, [1953]), solved an old problem by finally establishing their identity.

Her friends and pupils marked her retirement from the editorship of the Pipe Roll Society with *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton* (1962). This was edited for the society by two of her pupils, Patricia M. Barnes and C. F. Slade. Increasingly in her last years she gave her time to caring for Sir Frank. After his death in 1967 she made one last great effort in the editing of some of his earlier work, the collection of his essays in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England* (1970) and the third edition of his *Anglo-Saxon England* (1971). The obituary she wrote for him for the *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1970) was a masterpiece. Written with poignancy but with great insight and delicacy it recalled, as nothing else ever has, the world of historical scholarship in which they both moved and the adventure of English "red-brick" universities in the 1920s and 1930s. These were her last real commitments. She began a history of the University of Reading, of which she completed a chapter on the library, but it did not fire her imagination or keep her energies at their old pitch. She remembered too vividly and nostalgically the days when there seemed to be no limit to her endeavor. She had many friends about her and took a kindly interest in her old department in the university where the increasingly rare visitations by "The Lady" were both welcome and imposing occasions. Her final illness took her as she was planning a Christmas visit to Oakham. She was buried beside her husband at Halloughton on January 5, 1972.

J. C. HOLT
University of Reading

"The most striking fact in Russian history is the extraordinary growth of this [the Russian] people and their expansion over so enormous a territory." "There is only one Russia, 'Eurasian' Russia or 'Eurasia.'" In these terms—expansion and centralization of control over a vast, varied,

and multicultural area—GEORGE VERNADSKY drove home the burden of an imposing array of turn-of-the-century Russian historians. And he offered his synthesis of Russian civilization in the most prolific effort of contemporary practitioners in the area of Russian studies.

George Vernadsky was eighty-five when he died in New Haven, Connecticut, on June 13, 1973. He was born in St. Petersburg on August 20, 1887. His father, Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadsky, was a distinguished professor of mineralogy and chemistry, and his paternal grandfather, Ivan Vasilievich, was a noted economist whose writing influenced the emancipation of the peasantry in 1861. In the course of his education in Moscow, Berlin, Freiburg, and St. Petersburg he was influenced particularly by the modern historian A. N. Savin, who directed him toward a career of research, the medievalist D. M. Petrashevsky, his adviser S. F. Platonov, A. E. Presniakov, and one of Russia's most original historians, V. O. Kliuchevsky, who offered him an impressive perspective and high standards. He defended his dissertation on "The Russian Masonic Order Under Catherine II" in October 1917, a few days before the Bolshevik Revolution.

Fate seemed to remove George Vernadsky to focal points of the Revolution and civil war as they developed. He had received an appointment at the University of Perm where he shared a lecture series with the now renowned historian of Kievan Russia, B. D. Grekov, and with the defeat of Kolchak they transferred to the new Tauride University in Simferopol. In August 1920 he was appointed chief of the press department in General Wrangel's civil administration in Sevastopol; he departed his native clime in November of that year.

The first years in migration were fortunately rewarding. For eleven months in 1921–22 he served as assistant catalog librarian in the Greek Archaeological Society in Athens, a vantage point that Professor Vernadsky regarded as fundamental for his later studies in Byzantine civilization. In February 1922 he moved to Prague to lecture on the history of Russian law at the newly established Collegium of Russian Studies, where he was able to deepen his interests in ancient Russia by study and association with N. D. Kondakov and Lubor Niederle. And here he fell in with Professors N. S. Trubetskoi

and P. N. Savitsky whose congenial philosophic-historical views merged with his own to form the Eurasian school of Russian historiography. In the summer of 1927 he was invited, at the urging of Professor M. I. Rostovtsev, to occupy a research professorship in Russian history at Yale University.

His American career has been marked by voluminous writing in Russian and English and by growth in academic stature. Named professor of Russian history in 1946, his activities were only temporarily curtailed by a coronary thrombosis in the summer of 1950. In June 1956 he reached emeritus status, and his research proportionately increased. Columbia University recognized his stature in 1958 by awarding him the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters. In 1959 the American Council of Learned Societies chose him as one of the first recipients of its special awards for distinguished scholarship, and in 1971 the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies recognized his outstanding contribution to the advancement of this field in the United States. His students and colleagues had published a *Festschrift* in his honor in 1964.

Professor Vernadsky published twenty major studies, including eleven in English, seven in Russian, and two in French. He has written at least 119 articles ranging through literary, demographic, biographic, and historiographic items, along with investigations in preliterary, legal, social, and military history. He worked in some nine languages. His professional growth began in Prague, for here he developed his Eurasian theory in its most inclusive form—a theory that has, to some degree, influenced all of his work including his survey texts. He holds that the Eurasian “area of development” (a term he coined to elucidate his concept), the Russian Empire, is in itself a historical-geographical world constantly subject to political, social, economic, and cultural interaction in all of its parts. This is the burden of his major studies.

Professor Vernadsky's forte has been synthesis in the long perspective, which involves even his biographies of Bogdan Khmel'nitski and Lenin who are presented as products of their cultural heritage. The five-volume *A History of*

Russia, from the preliterate period to Peter I, is a prodigious exercise in an interpretation of a millennium of Russian civilization. It represents an impressive breadth of scholarship involving archeological, epigraphic, numismatic, sigillographic as well as the usual documentary materials, which draw on Slavic, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Georgian, and Norse sources. The relative scarcity of materials in the earlier periods led to bold, controversial speculation (for example, the Alanic origin of *Rus*) and to inevitable criticism by specialists in the component parts of his studies. And critics with a strong Western bent, like Professor P. N. Miliukov, have assailed the Eurasian interpretation as assigning too close a relationship between the Russian and Eastern peoples, whose virtues and cultural strengths are magnified. For it is in the framework of his Eurasian convictions that George Vernadsky developed the theme of centralization of all authority necessary for the process of expansion. It is in this context that he presented his thesis of the Mongolian statist model and heritage in Russian society and government with every segment of society serving the central will and effort. It is in this perspective that he saw the need for Westernization, as Muscovy competed with her non-Orthodox neighbors for control of the East European plain. And it is this context that he depicts the influence and difficult position of the Orthodox Church.

Surely the world of scholarship is indebted to George Vernadsky for a more secure sense of orientation in the study of a massive segment of human civilization.

ALFRED LEVIN

Kent State University

Other members of the association who have died recently include: Charles Domson of Mahanoy City, Pennsylvania; V. S. Merle-Smith of New York City; C. S. Meyer of St. Louis, Missouri; G. B. Noble of Falls Church, Virginia; Sister Mary Margaret O'Connell of the University of Dallas in Irving, Texas; Arthur L. O'Sullivan of Bowie, Maryland; John C. Rainbolt of the University of Missouri in Columbia, Missouri; and H. R. William of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Association Notes

At the annual meeting in San Francisco, the following prizes were announced for the year 1973: The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize to Martin Jay for *Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923-1950*. The Albert J. Beveridge Award to Richard Slotkin for *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier 1600-1860*. The John K. Fairbank Prize to William G. Beasley for *The Meiji Restoration*. The Howard R. Marraro Prize to Edward R. Tannenbaum for *The Fascist Experience: Italian Society and Culture, 1922-1945*.

Dr. Beatrice Hyslop, who for twenty-five years compiled the listing in French history for the Recently Published Articles section, died in July 1973. Dr. Hyslop's long service and dedication to the *AHR* was greatly appreciated by those with whom she worked. Readers of the *AHR*, members of the AHA, and students of French history owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Hyslop for her unfailing efforts to cover expanding bibliography in a field as broad as that of French history. Dr. Hyslop has been succeeded by Dr. Lynn M. Case, professor emeritus of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Case's reputation as an outstanding scholar is well known. We welcome him to this position and appreciate his willingness to compile the February list on short notice.

Festschriften and Miscellanies

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other *Festschriften* and similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

BARKER, NANCY N., and BROWN, MARVIN L., JR., edited and with an introduction by. *Diplomacy in an Age of Nationalism. Essays in Honor of Lynn Marshall Case*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1971. Pp. ix, 222. 36 gls.

GEORGES DETHAN, *Un Chercheur d'Outre-Atlantique: Notre Ami Lynn M. Case*. GUILLAUME DE BERTIER DE SAUVIGNY, *American Travelers in France 1814-1848*. NANCY NICHOLS BARKER, *France Disserved: The Dishonorable Career of Dubois de Saligny*. WARREN F. SPENCER, *The Mason Memorandum and the Diplomatic Origins of the Declaration of Paris*. JON EDWARD UPDIKE, *The Special Commission and the Danubian Elections of 1857*. MICHAEL J. McDONALD, *The Vicariat Proposals: A Crisis in Napoleon III's Italian Confederate Designs*. DANIEL B. CARROLL, *Henry Mercier and the American Civil War*. PAUL BERNSTEIN, *Napoleon III and Bismarck: The Biarritz-Paris Talks of 1865*. IVAN SCOTT, *The Diplomatic Origins of the Legion of Antibes: Instrument of Foreign Policy during the Second Empire*. DANIEL H. THOMAS, *The European Press on the Belgian Railway Affair of 1869*. MARVIN L. BROWN, JR., *Bismarck and Haymerle: The Clashing Allies*. CLAIRE HIRSHFIELD, *British Policy on the Middle Niger 1890-1898*. LYLE A. MCGEOCH, *British Foreign Policy and the Spanish Corollary to the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904*.

BLACKMAN, D. J., edited and prefaced by. *Marine Archaeology. Proceedings of the Twentythird Symposium of the Colston Research Society held in the University of Bristol, April 4th to 8th, 1971*. London: Butterworth & Co. (Publishers) Ltd. 1973. Pp. x, 522. \$30.00.

N. C. FLEMMING; N. M. CZARTORYSKA; and P. M. HUNTER, *Archaeological evidence for eustatic and*

tectonic components of relative sea level change in the South Aegean. A. B. HAWKINS, *Sea level changes around South-West England*. GRAHAM EVANS, *Recent coastal sedimentation: a review*. D. J. BLACKMAN, *Evidence of sea level change in ancient harbours and coastal installations*. JEREMY N. GREEN, *An underwater archaeological survey of Cape Andreas, Cyprus, 1969-70: a preliminary report*. D. A. FREY, *Shallow-water instrumental searching*. ALEXANDER MCKEE, *The search for King Henry VIII's "Mary Rose"*. DAVID LEIGH, *Reasons for preservation and methods of conservation*. M. H. JAMESON, *Halieis at Porto Cheli*. J. D. LEWIS, *Cosa: an early Roman harbour*. JOHN FRYER, *The harbour installations of Roman Britain*. HELEN CLARKE, *King's Lynn and east coast trade in the Middle Ages*. D. B. HAGUE, *Lighthouses*. ELISHA LINDER, *Naval warfare in the El-Amarna age*. JOHN H. BETTS, *Ships on Minoan seals*. HELENA WYLDE SWINY and MICHAEL L. KATZEV, *The Kyrenia shipwreck: a fourth-century B.C. Greek merchant ship*. ANTHONY J. PARKER, *The evidence provided by underwater archaeology for Roman trade in the Western Mediterranean*. GERHARD KAPITÄN, *Greco-Roman anchors and the evidence for the one-armed wooden anchor in antiquity*. HONOR FROST, *Anchors, the potsherds of marine archaeology: on the recording of pierced stones from the Mediterranean*. V. TUSA, *Ancore antiche nel Museo di Palermo*. COLIN J. M. MARTIN, *The Spanish Armada expedition, 1968-70*. SYDNEY WIGNALL, *The Armada shot controversy*. PETER MARSDEN, *The investigation of the wreck of the "Amsterdam"*. PETER THROCKMORTON, *Ships and shipwrecks: the archaeology of ships*.

FARKAS, JOSEF GERHARD, editor. *Überlieferung und Auftrag. Festschrift für Michael de Ferdinandy*. Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler. 1972. Pp. 701. DM 280.

YUDIT DE FERDINANDY, *Mein Vater Michael de Ferdinandy*. MICHAEL DE FERDINANDY, *Die Suche nach dem Ahn. Verzeichnis der Veröffentlichungen von Michael de Ferdinandy in den Jahren 1934-1972. Verzeichnis der Lehrveranstaltungen und Vorträge von Michael de Ferdinandy in den Jahren 1937-*

1972. FRANZ ALTHEIM and RUTH STIEHL, Perser und Araber vorm Islam. GEORGE N. ATIYEH, Oedipus Rex in Modern Arabic Literature. GEORGE T. BAILEY, The Windischgratz Caper. KURT BALDINGER, Die Völker im Zerrspiegel der Sprache. BÁLINT BALLA, Soziale Konflikte und die Soziologie. WOLFGANG BAUMGART, Preciosa Corona. Zur Kronensymbolik Tizians und Shakespeares. JAIME BENÍTEZ, Where is Our Courage? IMRE BOBA, Formation of the Hungarian Polity. THOMAS VON BOGYAY, Bemerkungen zum Problem der ersten byzantinisch-ungarischen Berührungen. FRITZ BORINSKI, Freie Universität Berlin 1956–1972. BÉLA BORSOS, Pulverhörner des sechzehnten bis achtzehnten Jahrhunderts aus der Karpatengegend. CARLA CORDÚA, Kant y la filosofía de la historia. GORDON A. CRAIG, Lenau as Political Writer. AGNES MARIA CSÍKY, Die Landschaft im ungarischen Märchen. JUAN MARÍA DÍEZ TABOADA, El autógrafo becqueriano de Romero Barros. JOSEF GERHARD FARKAS, Schwierigkeiten heutiger Geschichtsforschung in und über Südosteuropa. ANGELA DE FERDINANDY, Mensch und Gesellschaft bei Blaise Pascal (1623–1662). LADISLAUS DE FERDINANDY, Das Verhältnis des Fürstentums Siebenbürgen zu Ungarns heiliger Krone. NÁNDOR FETICH, Der wehräuchernde Engel von Karlsburg (Siebenbürgen). ERNESTO GRASSI, Das Problem der Quelle der Geschichtlichkeit im Humanismus und Marxismus. JULIUS GREXA, Die Probleme der ungarischen Königskrone (A magyar királyi korona problémái). CLAUDIO GUILLÉN, Historia literaria y forma narrativa. JORGE GUILLÉN, El apócrifo Antonio Machado. JOACHIM GÜNTHER, Verlust Europas—Verlust des Menschen? WALTER HIRSCH, Erbe und Umwelt. SUSANNE KEMPS, "Büffelschwermut" . . . László Némeths Werk. KARL KERÉNYI, Der Handschuh der Diana. LEOPOLD KOHR, The Physics of Politics. ALADÁR KOVÁCH, Der "Mongolenbrief" Bélas IV. an Papst Innozenz IV. über einen zu erwartenden zweiten Mongoleneinbruch um 1250. ROBERT LEWIS, Christopher Marlowe, or Everyman His Own Faust. JOSÉ ANTONIO MARAVALL, La literatura de emblemas en el contexto de la sociedad barroca. FRANCISCO DE MAROSY, Los "Crímenes contra la paz" y el derecho internacional. ANATOL MURAD, The Genealogy of the Dollar. LÁSZLÓ PASSUTH, La novela histórica. ANTONIO QUILLIS, Neutralización, a nivel ortográfico, de consonantes postnucleares en el español de Madrid. MICHAEL RECK, Possibilities and Impossibilities of Translation. ETHEL RÍOS DE BETANCOURT, The University of Puerto Rico in the Last Three Decades: An Institution of Hope, Success and Strife. ANTONIO RODRÍGUEZ HUÉSCAR, Sobre el perder y ganar. GEORG STADTMÜLLER, Ungarns Balkan-Politik im zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhundert. ÁDÁM SZÁSZDI, El Capitán Juan Porcel, vasallo del Emperador. ROBERTO TORRETTI, Lógica formal y forma lógica. ANTONIO TOVAR, Jinetes hallstáticos orientales en Hispania. SZABOLCS DE VAJAY, Das "Archiregnum Hungaricum" und seine Wappensymbolik in der Ideenwelt des Mittelalters. EMERICO VÁRADY, Julius von Farkas und die ungarische Literaturgeschichte. GEORGE VERNADSKY, Russlands Ungarn-Feldzug von 1849. ERNESTO VOLKENING, Wilhelm Raabe anders gesehen.
- LUDZ, PETER CHRISTIAN, editor. *Soziologie und Sozialgeschichte. Aspekte und Probleme*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1972. Pp. 623. DM 48.
- Theoretische Aspekte der historischen Soziologie und der Sozialgeschichte: PETER CHRISTIAN LUDZ, Soziologie und Sozialgeschichte. Aspekte und Probleme. FRIEDRICH H. TENBRUCK, Die Soziologie vor der Geschichte. HANS-ULRICH WEHLER, Soziologie und Geschichte aus der Sicht des Sozialhistorikers. NIKLAS LUHMANN, Weltzeit und Systemgeschichte. Über Beziehungen zwischen Zeithorizonten und sozialen Strukturen gesellschaftlicher Systeme. REINHART KOSELLECK, Begriffsgeschichte und Sozialgeschichte. WOLFRAM FISCHER, Sozialgeschichte und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Abgrenzungen und Zusammenhänge.
- Methodologische und methodische Probleme: PETER CHRISTIAN LUDZ and HORST-DIETER RÖNSCH, Theoretische Probleme empirischer Geschichtsforschung. LUCIAN KERN, Zur Verwendung von Konzepten des Operations Research in der rechts- und sozialgeschichtlichen Forschung. HORST-DIETER RÖNSCH, Zur Anwendung von Simulationsmodellen in der sozialgeschichtlichen Forschung. MELVIN SMALL and J. DAVID SINGER, Historische Tatsachen und wissenschaftliche Daten am Beispiel der Erforschung von Kriegen. GÜNTER ALBRECHT, Zur Stellung historischer Forschungsmethoden und nicht-reaktiver Methoden im System der empirischen Sozialforschung.
- Komparative Ansätze: PETER FLORA, Die Bildungsentwicklung im Prozess der Staaten- und Nationenbildung. Eine vergleichende Analyse. PETER N. STEARNS, Die Herausbildung einer sozialen Gesinnung im Frühindustrialismus. Ein Vergleich der Auffassungen französischer, britischer und deutscher Unternehmer. WOLFGANG ZORN, Sozialer Wandel in Mitteleuropa, 1780–1840. Eine vergleichende landesgeschichtliche Untersuchung.
- Stadtsoziologie und Stadtgeschichte: FRITZ SACK, Stadtgeschichte und Kriminalsoziologie. Eine historisch-soziologische Analyse abweichenden Verhaltens. WILLIAM H. HUBBARD, Der Wachstumsprozess in den österreichischen Gross-Städten 1869–1910. Eine historisch-demographische Untersuchung.
- Marxismus, Historische Soziologie und Sozialgeschichte: PETER CHRISTIAN LUDZ, Der Strukturbegriff in der marxistischen Gesellschaftslehre. G. L. ULMEN, Marxismus, Positivismus und Sozialgeschichte. Zu Karl August Wittfogels Gesellschaftstheorie. HARALD MEY, Der Beitrag von Barrington Moore Jr. zur soziologisch orientierten Sozialgeschichte. JÜRGEN KOCKA, Zur jüngeren marxistischen Sozialgeschichte. Eine kritische Analyse unter besonderer Berücksichtigung sozialgeschichtlicher Ansätze in der DDR.

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GENERAL

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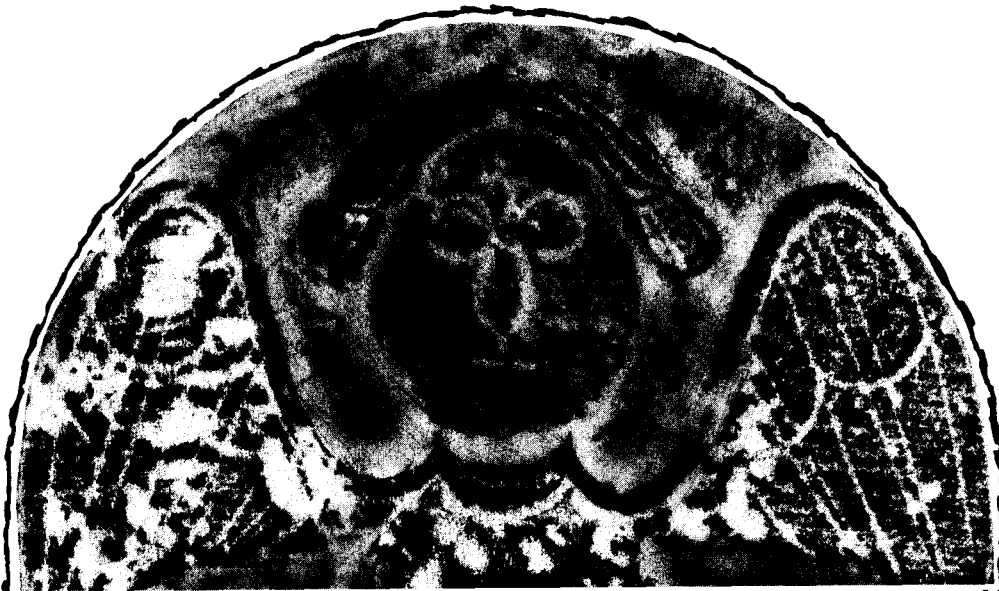
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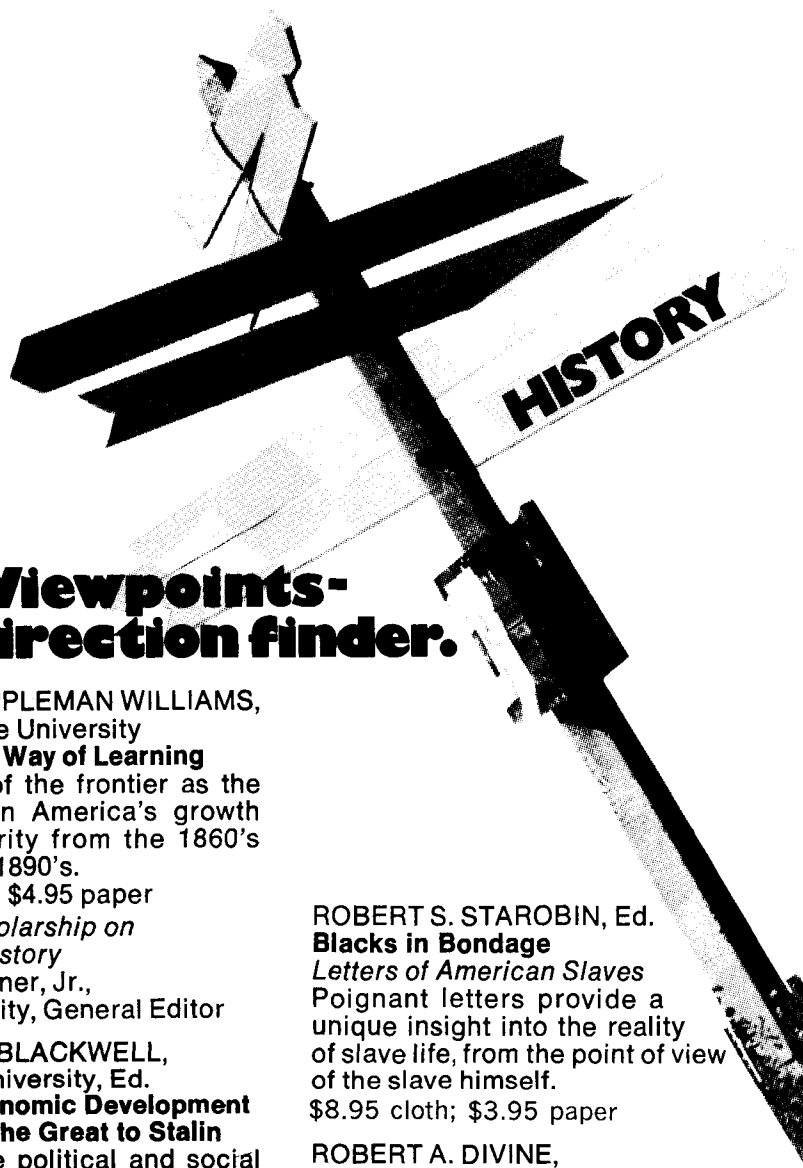
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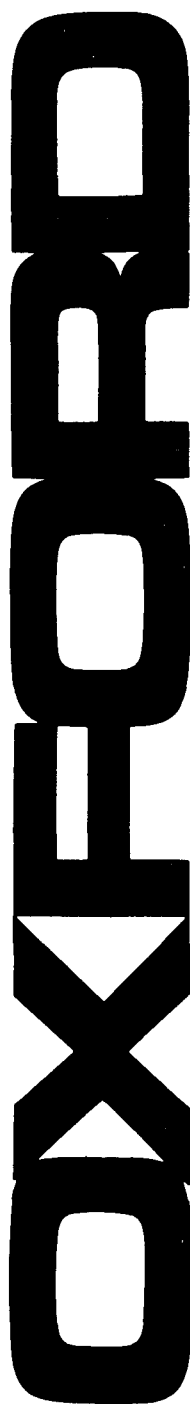
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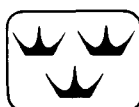
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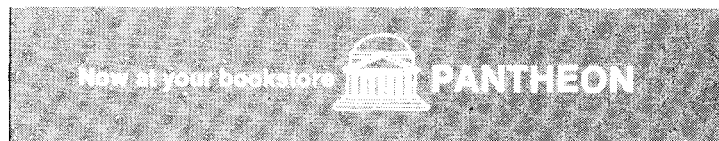
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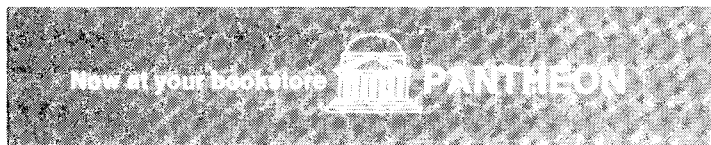
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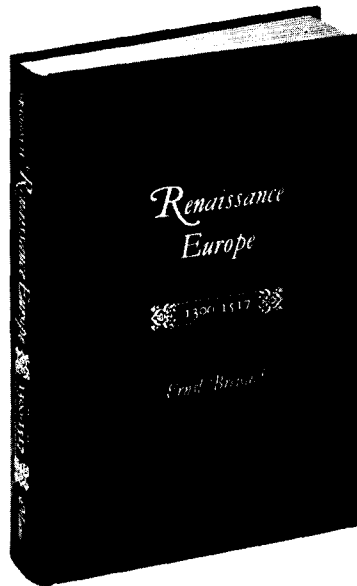
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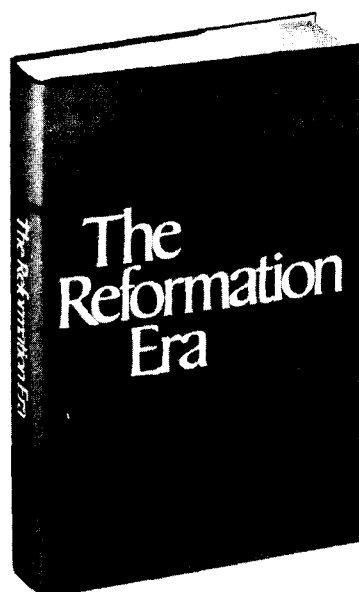
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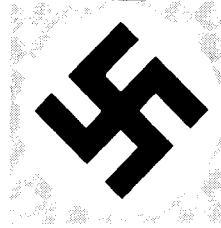
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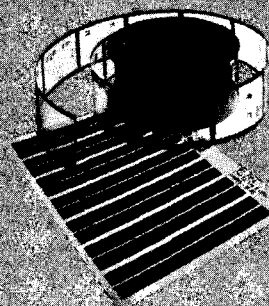


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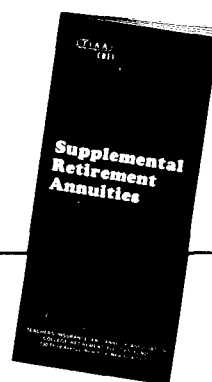
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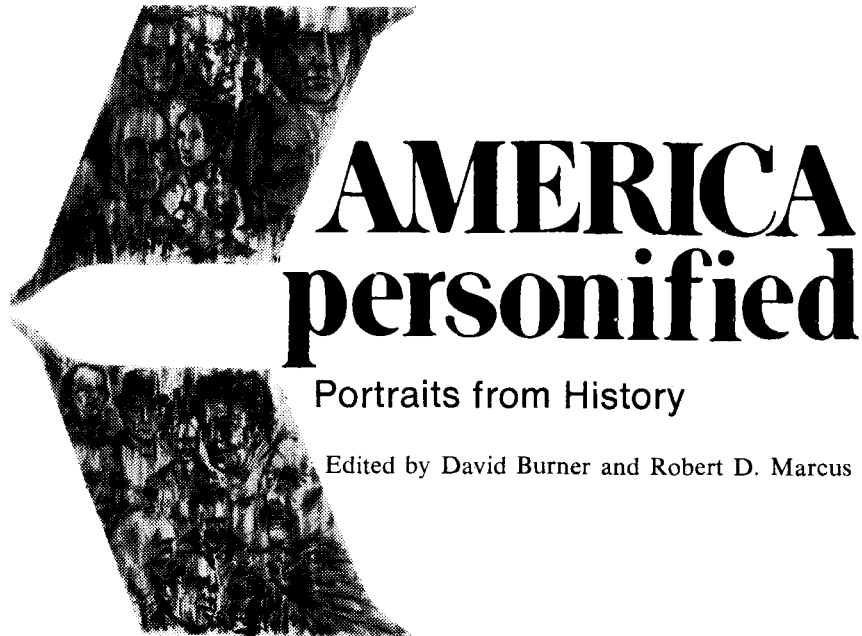
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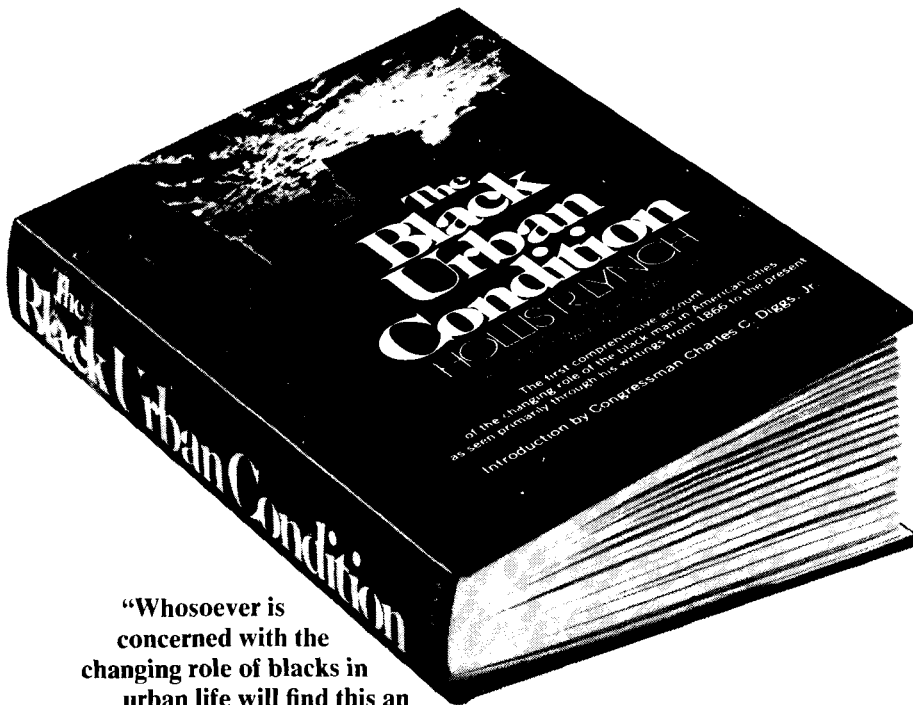
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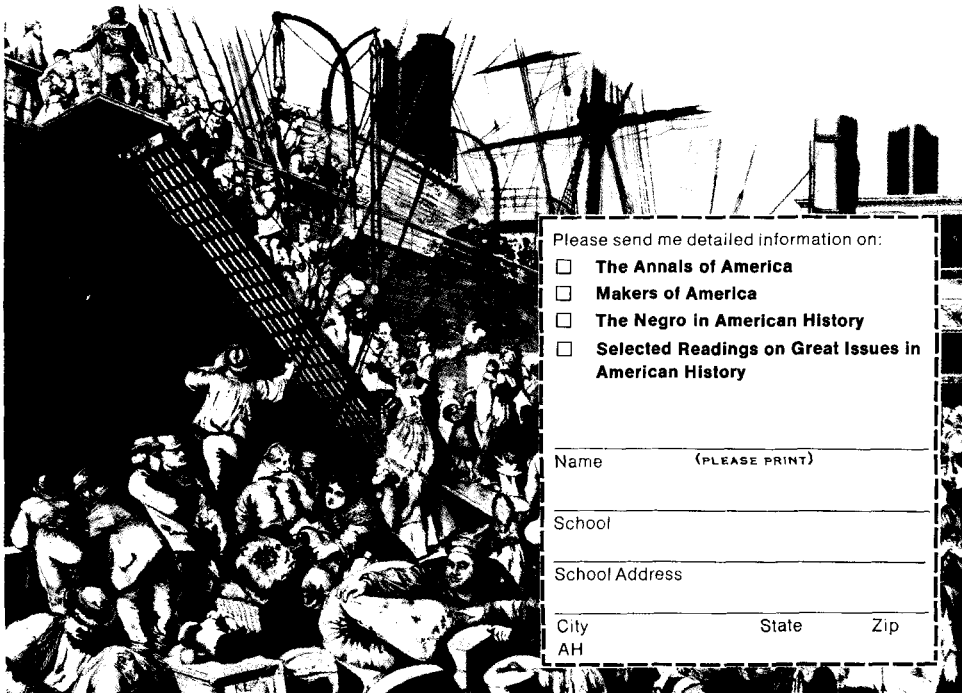
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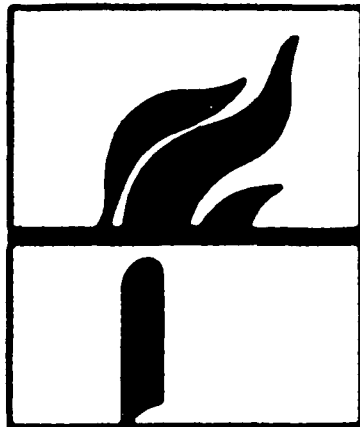
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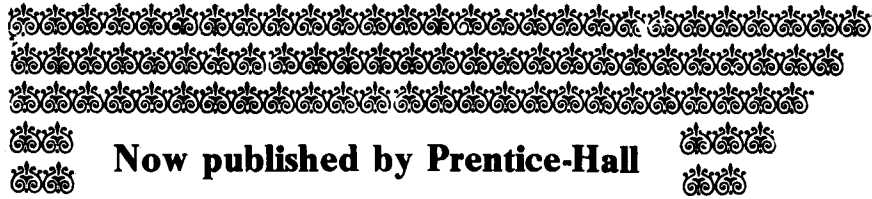
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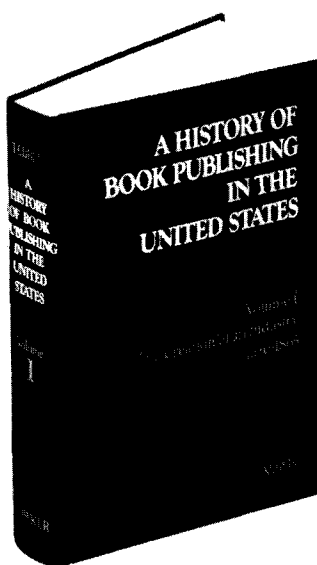
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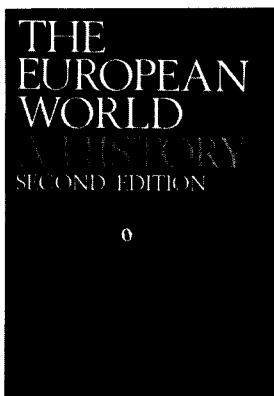
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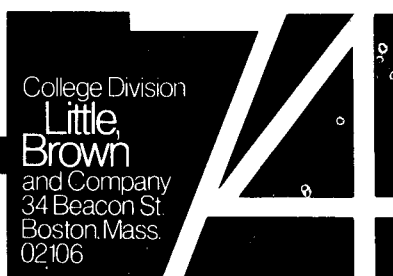
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